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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Indiana Commission Submits Manager Amendment

Cities may frame new charters under proposed constitutional provision

The City Manager Study Commission, created by joint resolution of the legislature to draft legislation authorizing the adoption of the council-manager plan of municipal government (declared unconstitutional by the Indiana Supreme Court in 1929), submitted a draft of a proposed constitutional amendment, with an accompanying report, to Governor M. Clifford Townsend in the latter part of September.

The proposed amendment, of five sections and approximately 1,500 words, authorizes any incorporated city or town to frame and adopt a charter for its own civil government, and does not specify the form. The report states in part:

"It will be observed that the amendment is of the so-called self-executing type. That is, if the amendment is submitted and ratified no further action by the General Assembly is necessary in order that a city or town may change its form of government. On the other hand, no city or town under the proposed amendment is required to change its form of government. Moreover, in order that any change shall be made only after careful deliberation, it is provided that a charter can be attained only through a convention composed of popularly elected members. The voters must vote favorably on the question of holding a charter convention, must select the members of the commission, and must approve the charter after it is prepared by the convention. Thus the principle of popular government seems to be adequately safeguarded.

"The amendment also provides methods for amending a charter once it is formulated and adopted. Single amendments may be initiated either by the legislative authority of a city or town or by 10 per cent of the voters therein. However, no amendments can be adopted except by majority vote of the electorate.

"The powers of cities and towns which adopt charters under the proposed amendment are defined by sections three and four of the amendment. Section three lists five groups of powers which may be exercised by such cities and towns subject only to the restrictions imposed by the constitutions of the state of Indiana and the United States. Section four permits the General Assembly of the state of Indiana to grant or withhold other powers by general laws; but powers may be withheld from cities or towns which adopt charters only if they are similarly withheld from all cities or from all towns of the state.

"It will be observed that, by clause one of section three, cities and towns which adopt charters may choose under the constitution their own forms of civil government. . . .

"By this provision cities and towns may establish the manager plan of government if they choose and distribute the functions of government among officials and departments. Unlike so-called home rule amendments in a number of states the proposed amendment does not permit a city or town to

determine what functions of local self-government it cares to exercise. The determination of functions of local government remains with the General Assembly. But the forms of local government for administering the legislature-enacted functions will be determined by the city or town. Control over personnel will likewise be exercised by the city or town.

"Clause two of section three permits charter cities and towns to regulate the manner of nominating and electing their officers. Cities and towns are also authorized to provide for the recall of elective officers. Clause three permits charter cities and towns to determine the organizational setup by which they will carry out municipal functions.

"By clause four cities and towns are allowed to make their own rules relative to the selection, compensation, hours of work, and dismissal of officers and employees; and the term of office of elective officials. . . .

"Clause five relates to the authority of charter cities and towns with regard to the administration of special districts which have been or may in the future be created. The charter city or town may elect to administer any such district if more than half its area lies within the limits of the city or town. But if a district is already in existence at the time this amendment becomes part of the constitution and if it was created for the purpose of operating a public utility the charter city or town may not disturb the existing arrangement unless the General Assembly of the state enacts legislation permitting the charter city or town to do so. . . .

"Inasmuch, however, as this amendment applies only to civil cities and civil towns these provisions with regard to the government and administration of special districts do not apply to schools or to school districts. . . .

"Section five of the amendment insures the continuing validity of existing legislation relating to the administration of cities and towns except as it is immediately superseded by provisions of the amendment or may in the future be superseded by action taken in accordance with the provisions of the amendment."

Council-Manager Plan News

The town of **Hartford, Vermont,** decided at a special town meeting held September 9, by a vote of 216 to 133, to inaugurate the town manager plan as soon as the selectmen can choose a manager.

Bloomfield, Connecticut, at a town meeting held September 25, adopted the manager plan by a vote of 388 to 279.

Cleveland, Oklahoma, has voted to retain the manager plan, 500 to 373.

Voters of **Raleigh, North Carolina,** defeated a manager proposal, submitted to a referendum on October 1, by a vote of 4,142 to 3,553.

In **St. Louis Park, Minnesota,** a proposed manager charter was defeated by a vote of 1,340 to 937.

In **Pontiac, Illinois,** a proposal to substitute the commission-manager plan for aldermanic government was defeated, 1,609 to 223.

Chicopee, Massachusetts, is proceeding actively toward the scheduled vote on Plan E at the November election this year. A demonstration of P. R. voting was conducted at a meeting of 350 persons at the city hall auditorium, September 11. In **Northampton** a petition for Plan E has been filed with the board of registrars; it bore 1,500 names, of which the board certified 1,259, or 99 more than the minimum required; however, by a misunderstanding of the law the filing was nine days late, and

(Continued on Page 688)

The League's Business

Springfield Conference Plans

PRELIMINARY programs of the League's forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government, to be held November 18, 19, and 20 at Springfield, Massachusetts, will be mailed to members of the League late in October.

There will be prominent speakers at the annual dinner and at the luncheons the first and third days of the conference. General sessions will be held Monday and Tuesday afternoons. Among the subjects to be discussed at round tables will be "Opportunities and Responsibilities of the Press in Today's Crisis," "The Struggle between Cities and Their Suburbs," "New Citizenship Responsibilities," "Progress in City Management," "Proportional Representation," "New Developments in Local Finance," "The City and State in the Defense Program," "Citizen Groups in Action," "Civil Service."

Meeting with the National Municipal League will be the Proportional Representation League and the National Association of Civic Secretaries, the executive committee of the Governmental Research Association and various League committees including the Committee on a Model Fiscal Program for Cities and the Committee on a Model State Constitution.

(Room reservations should be made directly with the Hotel Kimball, convention headquarters.)

Nominating Committee Appointed

President Dykstra has appointed the following members of the League as members of the 1940 nominating committee: Dr. Harold W. Dodds, President of Princeton University, *chairman;* Arnold Frye, New York City; Carl P. Herbert, director, St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research; Dean William E. Mosher, Syracuse University; Miss Anne M. Mumford, secretary, The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation; and Clarence E. Ridley, executive director, International City Managers' Association. Officers of the League to be nominated include the president and ten members of the council. The report of the nominating committee will be presented at the annual business session of the League to be held in connection with its annual Conference on Government at Springfield.

Visitors at the League's Office

Recent visitors at the League's headquarters in New York City include H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary of the Institute of Local Government, Pennsylvania State College; Harry K. Butcher, secretary of the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy; C. A. Crosser, director of the Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research; Edward Fenias, chairman of the Citizens Union of Newark, New Jersey; Frederick D. Griggs, executive director of the Springfield (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association; John D. Langmuir, executive director of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers; Mark Matthews, president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce; Miss Rosina Mohaupt of the staff of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; William R. Pouder, executive secretary of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association; and Dr. Paul W. Wager of the University of North Carolina.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review
Editorial Comment

Muckrakers, Please Come Back Again

FOR years it was common report that the elections of Kansas City, Missouri, were dishonest, that it was the usual practice to steal votes, that people who dared to vote against the machine were persecuted. Finally the accumulated stench blew off the lid and it was discovered the rumors weren't "the half of it."

People in Jersey City appear to accept without a qualm the long-continued sideshow of charges of election irregularities there, and they seem only amused when an official goes to bed to prevent an investigation of the locked-up records, when the city clerk blandly admits burning poll books which were being sought for investigation, when Mayor Hague says he dearly loves honest elections but opposes voting machines because they are so complicated they would deprive 40,000 persons of their ability to vote. His opponents, as is well known, charge that many ballots have been cast in the names of non-voters, non-residents, and dead persons.

In Newark, New Jersey, the superintendent of elections recently found that in five of the sixteen wards 11,000 of the 41,692 persons on the registration books could not be found. They had moved, died, or were "unknown" (except, perhaps, at election time). The Newark Citizens Union is waging a campaign for a restoration of honest voting but is retarded by the lack of a vigorous prosecutor and the election-year fear in influential quarters of doing anything which might embarrass political parties "at a time like this."

In Chicago it doesn't seem to matter whether it's "Big Bill" Thompson or the Kelly-Nash machine—the situation in its essentials remains pretty much the same. And then there was the classic occasion in Philadelphia of which a commentator said, "Either good voting or good counting," when one precinct reported 800-plus for the machine and two votes for the opposition.

In the face of scandals like these and others which are openly discussed but about which little is ever done, is it only the clear-sighted few who cringe when statesmen righteously hold forth about the "sanctity of the ballot" and about honest and unhampered voting being the cornerstone of self-government? If it isn't election year which causes the honest men in parties to restrain their urge to do something about it, there is some other excuse. Bryce and Munro thought twenty years ago that we were well on the way toward putting all things like this behind us, but perhaps what we need as much as anything right now is a new generation of "muckrakers."

Is the Mayor Eclipsed?

BERKELEY, referred to in the following editorial, has had the council-manager form of government for eighteen years. Mayor Gaines' acceptance of his responsibility for civic leadership is therefore refreshing and a good illustration of a basic but sometimes misunderstood principle of the manager plan.

Far from eclipsing the mayor, the manager plan gives the mayor a greater opportunity for important service to the voters. He is freed from technical administrative duties and from the usual procession of job and favor seekers. He can concentrate on leadership of the council while it shapes the all-important policies which determine the course of city government, the kinds of services it renders, and the amount of the people's money it spends. But above all his chief responsibility is to interpret the work of the city to the voters, and, in the finest sense of the word, to be the city's political leader.

Public Problem No. 1

THERE is a considerable popular feeling that, instead of being leaders of public thought, men in public office spend their time simultaneously sitting on a fence and keeping one ear to the ground.

Legislatures—local, state, and national—most frequently are seen in this awkward and unattractive position.

That's one side of the picture. Another side is found in the genuine need which many honest and far-sighted public officials feel for a return to something like the old town meeting of New England. It isn't so much that they want the voters to be giving them orders from day to day. Primarily they want the voters to throw off their habitual indifference. They want the voters to understand public business, to discuss it, to have convictions about it. A man gets pretty lonely away out there in front, after all; it's comforting to have around you others who understand and who are going the same way, or at least have a factual basis for opposition.

Two recent constructive efforts toward enlarging popular participation in public affairs are described in this issue of the REVIEW.[1] Interestingly enough, both efforts were initiated by mayors who were drafted and snatched from their careers. They have a special right, therefore, to demand that the people who put them in office stick around instead of adopting the usual attitude that "good government" would be automatic hereafter.

A self-governing system simply doesn't work that way. When the people abdicate (as happens as fre-

(Continued on Page 647)

[1] See "A City Goes to Town Meeting," by Mayor Frank S. Gaines of Berkeley, California, p. 643, and "Madison Citizens Advise Officials," by C. K. Alexander, p. 693.

A City Goes to Town Meeting

The "Berkeley Plan" now tested by experience makes democracy work and increases efficiency.

By FRANK STEWART GAINES
Mayor of Berkeley, California

IT MAY be, as some have said, that we in Berkeley have stumbled upon one of the basic principles of democracy for which the founders of our nation sought, but which they failed to reach before they were superseded by other governing groups which became preoccupied with the material development of the country and with the search for political instruments which could safely advance that material development while barely keeping alive the democratic philosophy.

What we have found may be what Thomas Jefferson felt we lacked when he declared, "We do not want cities in America, for they will mean the loss of democracy." And it is true that, as the villages and towns of Jefferson's day evolved into the cities of today, the once universal interest in the town meeting ebbed, all but disappeared, and finally became the less than casual interest of today. The average council meeting in the average American city of today is an affair ill-attended by the citizenry, customarily attended only by those with some axe to grind, and often attended only by professional hangers-on.

The citizens, in fact, have been getting together anywhere *but* in the council chamber. They've been thinking of themselves as "governed by politicians" because their municipal governments have been magnificent mysteries to them.

Our new Berkeley method is designed to convince citizens that they do, indeed, govern themselves—just as the old New Englanders knew for a certainty—and that *they* are the "stockholders" in the community corporation, to whom the councilmen, as their board of directors, are strictly responsible.

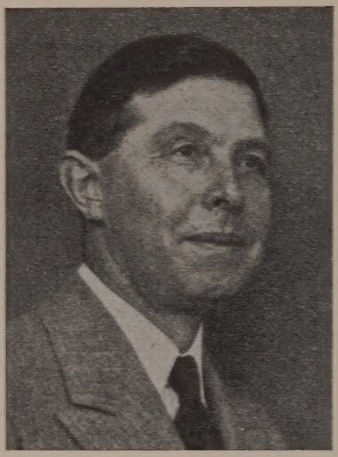
It is difficult to be complacent about life today in America or anywhere else. Not that we have made more mistakes than the rest of the world, but that we have packed them into such a comparatively brief span that at present we sit as on a powder barrel with the fuse burning. This fuse, it seems to me, may best be described as indignant citizens who, in a system we call a "democracy," fail to find any appropriate satisfaction in the mere mechanism of the voting booth. They want the satisfaction of helping run the system of government under which they live. They are entitled to that satisfaction, and when they get it, the work of operating a city government becomes immeasurably easier for every city department.

We have found this to be eminently true in Berkeley, where most citizens already consider themselves ex-officio members of the police department—accounting for a great deal of our police efficiency—and where they

are now being drawn into similar sympathetic attitudes toward other city departments.

Our experience with what may be termed "The Berkeley Plan" indicates that it is practical. It works. After forty or more council meetings we can say confidently that the plan will work anywhere, that is, in any city. For it is not applicable, for technical reasons, to a state legislature or to Congress.

We feel now that this plan, or something of the sort, should be applied in every town and city in the country as a matter of intelligent self-interest.



FRANK S. GAINES
Mayor, City of Berkeley

CITIZEN INTEREST AROUSED

The basic idea is to arouse in our citizens a greater sense of responsibility for the affairs of local government. Our aim is to put citizens to work for democracy and to stimulate their interest in the American method of government. We feel that if democratic institutions are to be preserved it is necessary that citizens be more familiar with the principles for which they presumably stand.

Our plan is to induce ten citizens to attend—and participate in—each weekly meeting of the city council, and the prestige of the Mayor's office is used to bring this about.

Invitations, personal and signed by the Mayor, are despatched several days in advance of the meeting. On the theory that two invitations must be sent in order to secure one acceptance, we select twenty names. Half of these are women, the other half men; also, half are Republicans, the other half Democrats. (Politically, in matters of local government, we operate on a nonpartisan basis.)

The names are selected from the precinct registers. This insures a systematic sampling of the city geographically.

In choosing names from the precinct list, we use the indicated vocation as an index of availability. In the case of women, the determination is a relatively simple one because a large proportion of them describe themselves as housewives, which they are in fact. Whenever we find a woman who styles herself as "homemaker" we select her in preference to an ordinary housewife, because we have found that "homemakers" usually have a more lively sense of civic and social responsibility. In the case of men, we are pretty much limited to non-professionals or non-artisans; that is to say, those who are executives, merchants, manufacturers, retired, and the like. This is

because we hold our council meetings for the most part on a working day at 10 o'clock in the morning. When we hold an evening meeting, which we do once a month, we are able to choose anybody regardless of occupation.

At the meetings we adhere strictly to corporate terminology. The council is called the board of directors. The top-flight administrative officials are called officers of the corporation. The invited "stockholders" are seated on a platform in the council chamber near the directors.

Immediately after the formal opening of the meeting, following roll call and approval of the minutes of the previous meeting, the directors are introduced, one by one, to the "stockholders." Then the officers of the corporation are introduced. They are: the general manager (city manager), the legal advisor (city attorney), and the secretary of the board (city clerk).

In turn, the "stockholders" are introduced to the directors and officers, each being called by name. Usually all hands arise when their names are mentioned and make a dignified bow. There are already smiles all around, because the "stockholders" recognize names they have often read about in the newspapers, and the officials are anxious, naturally, to make a good impression on the "stockholders." In fact, we have found that there are a number of distinct improvements in the way we conduct the council's business, due to the alert, interested presence of the "stockholders." We hadn't foreseen this, but it is one of the benefits of the new plan.

The attention of the "stockholders" is then directed to a bulletin board located on the council chamber wall directly opposite them, on which are listed in large letters a number of desirable public projects which they, the "stockholders," may be called upon ultimately to finance, and their comments are invited on the relative merits of these projects. They are also requested to suggest other projects which they deem to be desirable in the public interest. They are invited to visit the various municipal buildings and facilities that may be of interest to them, at the conclusion of the meeting, with transportation provided by the city government.

The "stockholders" are invited to interrupt the routine of the council meeting at any time a question may occur to them. In addition, they are urged to be prepared at the conclusion of the meeting to give the members of their board of directors the benefit of constructive criticism on any matters having to do with the welfare of the city.

A FEW POINTERS

Each "stockholder" is given a copy of the agenda for the day, a copy of the minutes of the preceding meeting as an example of how the records of the board of directors are kept, and a copy of the latest annual report of the city manager. Finally, each is given a copy of the "corporate articles," i.e., our city charter, with the suggestion that each may wish to refresh his or her memory as to the basic rules under which their corporation operates. Probably no one of them has ever laid eyes on the charter before.

Mayors who wish to introduce the "Berkeley Plan" in their communi-

ties will find serviceable these few points on technique. First, timing—our tempo is fast; the whole introductory procedure takes just six minutes. Second, we make it clear and repeatedly state the fact that every citizen is a "stockholder" and as such is just as welcome at council meetings as are those who are especially invited. Third, we strive to make all the invited "stockholders" feel at ease. This is done initially by my secretary who makes it a point to be present in the council chamber to identify and receive the invited "stockholders" when they arrive and to conduct them to the seats which have been provided for them. She does this graciously, in a manner calculated to overcome any strangeness they may feel in the council chamber atmosphere. Immediately preceding my entry into the council chamber she gives me a list of those present and so arranged that I am able spontaneously to call each person by name.

Those who may envision in this plan a certain amount of confusion and aimless discussion such as might feature an indecisive forum, may be assured that such is not the case. The affairs which come before the city council are handled just as expeditiously as before, and probably more so. Petty, futile obstructions tend to disappear when mayor, city officers, and council are placed fully on their behaviour in the presence of the "stockholders" who are given *carte blanche* to criticize.

A cardinal merit of the Berkeley plan is that it cannot be subverted in any manner. The city's business is placed squarely in the open. The fact that the plan has been inaugurated and is operating is first class local news and hence is supported by the local newspapers. There are few editors, even of an opposition press, who are so lacking in community ideals that they would be willing to attack an implement of government which so openly weds the interests of citizens and elected officials.

The greatest menace to the preservation of democratic institutions is public apathy. This we have known for years. And many of us have tried every sort of idea to persuade the public to do its duty by us—help us govern our cities. We've tried mass meetings, and we've tried sending public officers into the schools, fraternal and patriotic meetings, churches, and labor union meetings—only to find that, as soon as some issue of the moment with emotional appeal had subsided, the public subsided too.

INTEREST CONTINUES

Now at last we have discovered that when we call upon the public to bear a hand in this business of city government, and when we give the public something *meaty* into which it may sink its teeth—such as real council meetings in which the "stockholders" don't have to listen to any of our orators, but instead participate in actual deliberations—the apathy of most good citizens evaporates.

We have noticed something else. Now that the Berkeley plan has been in operation for some time, men and women who first came to the council chamber as members of the invited "stockholders" panels, begin appearing in the regular spectators' seats.

This is the mayor's cue often to turn to the spectators when some significant piece of business is under consideration and ask, "Isn't there someone here who would like to be heard on this matter?"

We find these "stockholders" suggesting improvements and public projects which, if the council itself were to advance them, might set these very citizens up in opposition. It's different, however, when they make the suggestions.

Many of them have thought that "politicians" have a private stamping ground at city hall. When they find the city's affairs being conducted by a very business-like group of councilmen and councilwomen who often strike sparks in their sincere efforts to save the taxpayers' money, they drop their cynical attitudes in a flash of surprised appreciation. And when they themselves are asked by the mayor what their own opinion may be on the question in debate, and when they find the members of the council seriously listening to what they say, they become forthwith ex-officio aides to the members of the city government.

Extended over a year, the Berkeley plan finally builds up hundreds of key citizens who help find the way to economies in the city's business, perform countless voluntary services, and facilitate the development of needed municipal projects without costly campaigns to acquire them. That is to say, when projects vital to the municipality are proposed and explained, they may be intelligently voted upon in the precincts on their actual merits and not because voters harbor cynical attitudes concerning their local government. Each of the "stockholders" who has once sat in the "stockholders" panel in the council chamber is an educational factor in his neighborhood in behalf of honest democratic processes.

EDITORIAL

(Continued from Page 642)

quently as not in local affairs), they are asking for bossism, either benevolent or malignant.

We are worrying more and more about "fifth columns." A greater peril to our way of life, however, is the refusal of those who consider themselves "the better people" to participate in local politics. Local affairs constitute the original cell of a self-governing system. When local elections repeatedly bring out only 30 to 50 per cent of the qualified voters, we simply do not have democracy or self-government. When the result of such an election is good, this is due to the fortunate existence of high-minded, selfless leadership rather than to an effective demonstration of government by the people and of the people.

The mayors of Berkeley and Madison are attacking our number one problem in a mature, intelligent manner. They are giving their people a real opportunity.

Maine a Pioneer in Town Management

Nine cities and seventeen towns now operate under manager charters; plan recognized as an accepted and approved form of municipal administration.

By ORREN C. HORMELL
Bowdoin College

MAINE has become one of the outstanding experiment stations for the manager plan of government.

Twenty-three years ago (1917), the city of Auburn secured from the legislature a manager charter which was adopted the following year by a referendum of Auburn voters. Today, the manager plan has been adopted and put into effect in nine cities and seventeen towns. The cities operate under special charters, granted by the state legislature (see Table I).

During the same period the following cities have refused to ratify manager charters granted by the legislature: Saco (1925), Calais (1936 and 1939), Bath (1939), Gardiner (1939). One city, Old Town, was refused a charter by the legislature.

It is interesting to note that influential citizens of two-thirds of Maine's cities have been able to secure manager charters from the legislature and that 64.3 per cent of the cities granted charters have adopted them by local referendum.

Thirteen towns also operate under special charters granted by the state legislature (see Table II).

Several towns have refused to adopt manager charters enacted for them by the legislature. Outstanding among such towns are Sanford (1929), Bar Harbor (1937), Old Orchard (1937), Fort Kent (1938), and Bridgton (1938). The last named town, however, has come in under the 1939 enabling act.

Four towns operate under the municipal manager enabling act (chapter 130 of the *Public Laws of 1939*).

TABLE I

City	*Population 1930*	*In Effect*	*Act of Legislature Private and Special Laws*
Auburn	18,571	1918	1917—Ch. 200
Portland	70,810	1923	1923—Ch. 109
Belfast	4,993	1930	1929—Ch. 115
Bangor	28,749	1931	1931—Ch. 54
Brewer	6,329	1931	1931—Ch. 75
Presque Isle[a]	4,662	1933	1931—Ch. 100
Ellsworth	3,447	1933	1933—Ch. 34
South Portland	13,840	1934	1933—Ch. 55
Eastport[b]	3,466	1935	1935—Ch. 66

[a]Presque Isle was changed from a manager town to a manager city by special act of the legislature in 1939.

[b]Eastport since 1938 has been operating under a commissioner appointed by the State Emergency Municipal Finance Board. The commissioner in actual practice operates much as a manager.

Town	*Population*	*In Effect*
Bridgton	2,659	1940
Hodgdon	1,054	1940
Linneus	1,000	1940
Norridgewock	1,478	1940

The town manager enabling act should be recognized as a landmark in the development of municipal government in Maine. It provides that any town at either an annual or special town meeting "provided an appropriate article has been inserted in the warrant . . . may vote to employ a town manager or to form a union with one or more other towns in the employment of a town manager."

The "town manager shall be the administrative head of the government of the town, or each of the several towns comprising a town union, and shall be responsible to the selectmen of each town for the administration of all departments of such said town over which the selectmen of towns have control. . . ." Furthermore, the selectmen may require the manager to perform "the duties or any part of the duties of the town treasurer, the road commissioner or commissioners, the tax collector, and the overseers of the poor."

It is safe to predict that in a relatively short time most of the twelve "agent" towns[1] mentioned below will operate under the 1939 enabling act. The so-called "town agents" are taking the initiative in securing a vote of the town under the enabling act in order that the agent may assume the more professional title of manager.

The so-called town agent—resembling a town manager—is appointed by the selectmen under a general statute. The statute, however, does not define the agent's duties and in practice he varies from a secretary or "errand boy" to the selectmen to a full time, well paid manager.

An example of the latter may be found in the town of Dexter. In 1931 the town voted to increase the number of selectmen from three to five for overlapping three-year terms, to reduce the salaries of selectmen to one dollar per meeting, and authorized them to engage "a town agent or manager and fix his salary." The manager plan in practice has been in operation under a well paid manager

[1]Corinna, Dexter, Guilford, Hampden, Hartland, Lubec, Mapleton, Monticello, Masardis, Patten, Pittsfield, and Sangerville.

TABLE II

Town	*Population 1930*	*In Effect*	*Act of Legislature Private and Special Laws*
Camden	3,606	1927	1927—Ch. 101
Fort Fairfield	2,616	1929	1929—Ch. 65
Mt. Desert	2,022	1932	1929—Ch. 97
Washburn	1,974	1934	1933—Ch. 61
Rumford	8,726	1935	1935—Ch. 48
Oakland	2,664	1935	1935—Ch. 58
Baileyville	2,017	1935	1935—Ch. 95
Ashland	2,198	1936	1935—Ch. 12
Milo	2,912	1938	1937—Ch. 25
Dover-Foxcroft	3,730	1938	1937—Ch. 57
Houlton	6,865	1939	1939—Ch. 3
Caribou	7,248	1939	1939—Ch. 46
Lincoln	2,161	1940	1939—Ch. 62

in Dexter since that time. Thus custom in some cases is more effective than law. It should be noted here, however, that there is no logical reason for Dexter to delay in adopting the real manager plan under the 1939 enabling act. Several towns have used the town agent device for trying out the manager plan. Camden and Fort Fairfield thus experimented for two years before asking the legislature for a charter.

Another type of administrative agent quite similar in many respects to the town manager is found in the "commissioners" of the towns and plantations taken over by the Emergency Municipal Finance Board. There are twelve such municipalities[2] operated by commissioners appointed by and responsible to the board. Of the five commissioners now administering town affairs for the board, two have charge of three towns each, and one conducts the business of four towns. An excellent opportunity is thus being given to try out and evaluate the uniting of two or more towns under a single administrative expert.

EARLY CHARTERS

Space does not permit a lengthy historical and descriptive sketch of the manager movement or an evaluation of the more important charters. Some attention should be given, however, to the experiment in the first two Maine municipalities to adopt manager government—Auburn, 1918, and Portland, 1923. The charters of these two cities have served materially as models for other Maine municipalities. The financial features of the Auburn charter were followed by the drafters of the Portland charter and have been incorporated in a major portion of the charters of other manager cities.

The ward system of electing the city council of five members was retained in Auburn, not because the drafting committee believed in the ward method of representation, but because the committee believed that the abolition of that system, with a solid French-Canadian fifth ward, would result in inevitable defeat at the popular referendum. However necessary it was to retain the ward system in 1917, experience shows that its retention has been, from time to time, a deterring factor to effective management. The council members are elected for two-year terms; all retire at the same time.

A mayor is elected who presides over but has no vote in the council; at times the mayor tries to assume functions legally belonging to the manager.

The manager and his subordinates by charter provision are appointed to serve for an indefinite tenure at the pleasure of the appointing authorities. By custom (extra-legal if not illegal) the council after each biennial election considers vacant all positions which it is authorized to fill and makes appointments anew. To the credit of the council only occasionally have political factors caused the dropping of experienced and efficient servants. Mr. Fred Ford, now with Public Administration Service, was the city manager of Auburn for twelve years from 1926 to 1938.

[2]Blaine, Connor, Eagle Lake, Eastport, Fort Kent, Kingman Plantation, Reed Plantation, St. Francis Plantation, Silver Ridge Plantation, Stockholm, Van Buren, and Wallagrass Plantation.

A weak feature of the Auburn charter, one copied unfortunately in all other manager charters in Maine, is that relating to the appointing power. Several of the important administrative positions are filled directly by the council and all of the manager's appointments are subject to council confirmation. Moreover, no departmental organization was set up in the charter. The manager was given the difficult duty of supervising a large number of subordinates who were subjected to council appointment or confirmation and might recognize loyalty to an influential councilman more than loyalty to the manager.

With all of its defects, however, the manager system in Auburn, after twenty-three years, seems to have the support of a great majority of the voters of the city.

PORTLAND'S EXPERIENCE

The experience of Portland with the manager system is worthy of special notice. Portland has operated under only two managers since the inception of the system in 1923, Harry A. Brinkerhoff and James E. Barlow, both trained and experienced in engineering and administration before their appointment to the Portland position.

The committee representing the Portland Chamber of Commerce and the Citizens Committee of 100, which drafted the unsuccessful charter of 1921 and the charter which was adopted in 1923, drew not only from the Auburn charter but also from the 1915 Model Charter of the National Municipal League. In several important articles, however, the Portland charter differs fundamentally both from the Model Charter of 1915 and from the subsequent revisions of that charter. Such differences may be explained largely by a statement of the drafting committee (headed by Ralph O. Brewster, later Governor and Representative to Congress) to the effect that "it should be definitely and clearly understood that this is a Portland charter—made in Portland —made for Portland—made by Portland men." The committee emphasized the desire to appear original by giving the following reasons. "It is felt that New England for historical reasons has developed a distinctly different type of municipal government than existed in other sections of the United States. It seems evident that this difference in conditions must constantly be borne in mind and that charters from other sections of the country must be scrutinized with great care before their provisions are adopted. The experience of New England cities must be of primary importance."

The amazing lack of an integrated administrative set-up is accounted for in part by the committee's announcement that "it seems the part of wisdom to disturb the administrative organization of the city *to the smallest extent possible* as the citizens are accustomed to its mode of functioning, and the limits of the several departments are now determined with some precision by our customs and habits of thought. The tentative draft of the charter . . . leaves the existing administrative organization of the city almost entirely intact with the names and functions of all executive officers and boards precisely

as before with certain minor exceptions."

The injurious effects of the lack of integration appear most convincingly in the absence of an integrated department of finance.

NO INTEGRATION ATTEMPTED

Under the charter no attempt has been made to create by ordinance integrated departments which to a limited degree would be legally possible. It appears that the framers of the Portland charter made it difficult for councils and managers to effect departmental integration from the fact that in the charter, article VI, section 1 (a), the following officers and members of boards were to be appointed by the council: "city manager, city clerk, corporation counsel, treasurer and tax collector, health officer, city hall music commission, trustees of Evergreen Cemetery, and two members of the board of registration"; while the following were to be appointed by the manager, *subject to confirmation by the city council*: "commissioner of public works, city electrician, chief of police, chief of the fire department, secretary to overseers of the poor, city physician upon recommendation of the health officer, inspector of buildings . . . and all other department heads whose positions may from time to time be created by ordinance; and except as herein otherwise provided, upon recommendation of the heads of their departments, all minor officers and employees."

Such provisions reveal the weakness of the manager's position. Although he is declared to possess responsibility for the administration of all departments he has no share in the appointment of several important officials, and, what is more important, all of the manager's appointments are subject to "confirmation by the city council." His power of removal is even more limited, at least in practice, than his power of appointment. Since all appointments are subject to the confirmation of the council and all of the manager's appointees serve "during the pleasure of the appointing power" removals to date have been attempted by the manager only after being assured of the council's approval. It is not surprising then that, in general, the administrative staff turns for approval to the council rather than to the manager.

The power of the manager to develop an integrated administrative organization is further limited by the charter provision that "duties of administrative officers other than the city manager may be prescribed by the city council."

Notwithstanding these various weaknesses, public service in Portland, compared with the character of service under the earlier political system, has been greatly improved under the manager form. The city debt has been decreased by approximately $500,000 from that of 1923 while the total tax levy has been maintained at a constant level, notwithstanding great loss in property values and inevitable increase in welfare costs during the depression.

FIRST TOWN MANAGER

Among Maine towns Camden assumed leadership in 1925 by establishing a manager under the title of "agent" and after two years of suc-

cessful experimenting the town asked the legislature for a manager charter.

The administration of the town is largely vested in one board of directors, the selectmen, with the exception of school affairs which are vested in a separate school board. The town also elects a treasurer, collector of taxes, clerk, and auditor of accounts.

The selectmen appoint a manager who in turn appoints all other non-elective agents and employees of the town subject to confirmation of the selectmen. All appointive officers hold office at the pleasure of the appointing power, except that the town manager and health officer can be removed only upon written charges and after a public hearing.

The charter provides that the town manager shall be chosen solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications and his technical knowledge of road construction, and that preference be given when possible to a duly qualified engineer.

The manager is declared to be the administrative head of the town government, responsible to the selectmen for the administration of all departments of the town over which the selectmen have control.

Important among the specific duties of the manager enumerated in the charter is that of acting as a purchasing agent for all departments of the town.

The charter further provides that the manager shall devote his entire time to his office and shall receive a salary to be fixed by the selectmen.

Camden elects seven selectmen. They meet once a week. They receive no salary but the town does pay their necessary expenses.

Under the manager system Camden not only has had efficient supervision of all its departments, but especially has been able to carry out a constructive and continuing program of road building extending over a considerable period of time.

Fort Fairfield, in 1929, copied the Camden charter and received permission of the legislature to make it the town's fundamental law. The economies and efficiencies of the manager system for a small town have been unquestionably proven in Fort Fairfield.

The manager in that town is the administrative head of all town departments except schools; in other words, is overseer of the poor, road commissioner, town engineer, purchasing agent, tax collector, building inspector, plumbing inspector; and in addition supervises the fire department, police department, and department of health, prepares the annual budget, and controls all town expenses, as well as the routine office work. In fact the system worked so well that the city of Brewer (January, 1932), went to Fort Fairfield for its new city manager.

HOULTON'S CHARTER

The town manager charter of Houlton, enacted as an emergency measure by the legislature on February 14, 1939, presents a few noteworthy features. A council of seven members, serving overlapping terms of three years, was established. In the council are concentrated the powers and duties of former selectmen, overseers of the poor, assessors, and board of road commissioners. The council

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Greater Newark: A Quarter Century Vision

Politics a stumbling block to effective metropolitan community in Essex County region; local patriotism and fear of shift in balance of political power defeat attempts to secure consolidation.

By LAWRENCE H. WENDRICH
Institute of Politics, Indiana University

THE municipalities of Essex County play dual roles. On the one hand, they are a part of the New York metropolitan region. On the other, they form an Essex County metropolitan region with Newark as the central city. Desirable as unification of the New York region may be, a multitude of factors militate against an early adjustment. The unification of the metropolitan sub-unit of Essex County would not meet the same prohibitive factors and is justifiable in view of relationships within the area.

By the application of a number of tests it becomes evident that Newark and almost all the rest of the county would be classified as a metropolitan area in itself were it not for its proximity to New York. If that proximity were ignored, the Bureau of Census method of determining a metropolitan area by population density would reveal Newark as a central city with twenty of the twenty-one suburban communities of the county as part of its metropolitan area.

Newspaper circulation demonstrates that Newark newspapers are the principal news medium of the Essex County resident, with New York papers of secondary importance. In addition, the Newark press has a wide circulation in adjacent counties. A measurement of department store deliveries discloses that Newark stores are the most important shopping sources for Essex residents. Investigation of wholesale trade establishments points to an overwhelming importance of this city as a wholesale center for the county. A survey of the transportation facilities indicates that Newark is the focal point of the daily population movements in the county.

All these indices reveal the social and economic domination of this central city over an area somewhat larger than Essex County.

In order to simplify the problem of consolidation, attention will be given only to the problems and methods of consolidating those municipalities within the political boundaries of Essex County. The situation before us still remains complex, however, for although Essex County is a unit by every social and economic test, its political divisions include twenty-two municipalities, the county, independent boards and commissions, and several *ad hoc* authorities.

The municipalities embrace an area of only 127 square miles. Their individual populations range from 989

to 442,337.[1] Taxable property values range from approximately $1,600,000 to $780,000,000. In a closely knit area of this type such a situation may have wide ramifications. Crude as the results may be in determining the quantity and quality of services of the separate municipalities by a per capita local government cost, they indicate marked inequalities of adequacy or efficiency. Whatever the reasons for the inequalities they form a basis for argument in favor of consolidation by those who view the metropolitan problem as a problem of the area as a whole; substandard services in one municipality materially affect its neighbors.

Among the ten largest communities the per capita tax for local purposes ranges from $12.46 to $47.67 with a median of $27.16. These wide differences may be due to administrative techniques or differences in service problems; but they may be due to marked inequalities in ability to pay. Among the twenty-two communities per capita valuations range between $813.37 and $4,198.90 with a median of $1,805.72.

NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION

A myriad of uncoördinated special authorities blanket the county—added proof of political multiplicity and a need for consolidation even among these "coördinating" authorities. Established to rectify pressing problems that were beyond the scope of the individual municipalities, these *ad hoc* areas frequently add to the confusion and have occasionally clashed among themselves and with other authorities over jurisdictional and financial matters.

The North Jersey District Water Supply Commission furnishes an important service to Essex municipalities, yet four communities of the county purchase water from private companies. It is hampered by its limited scope of authority and an inability to establish new facilities in keeping with its regional character. The Joint Outlet Sewer Commission performs a much needed service in an efficient manner. Coördination of this authority should not impair this phenomenon. The Passaic Valley Sewerage District embraces portions of Passaic, Bergen, Hudson, and Essex Counties. Its objective to prevent pollution of the Passaic River has been accomplished, but at a highly unsatisfactory cost. These agencies are makeshift solutions and could profitably be consolidated on a regional basis; failing this, a closer harmony within each single county is greatly needed.

In addition to this confusion of municipal and special authorities, consideration must be given to the county government and the several independent county commissions. Despite the common concept of county government as "rural" it maintains an important role in this urban area of Essex County. The county performs not only the traditional charitable and institutional services but also several urban functions. Vocational education, a small share of roads, shade tree development, almost all the parks of the area, and mosquito control are

[1] All population and per capita figures derived from the 1930 census. The 1940 preliminary returns which show only slight changes have been widely protested in Essex County. Tax rates, etc., are of the most recent date obtainable.

directly or indirectly administered by the county. A teletype system has been established in the sheriff's office in an attempt to correlate municipal policing efforts.

Few municipal services are administered at the maximum economy and efficiency realizable in a consolidated community embracing Essex County's "Balkan" subdivisions. The problems left to the twenty-two municipalities included: police and fire protection, health, waste disposal, education, planning, purchasing, financial administration, and so forth. State and county functionaries engage in some of the same work, but it is secondary and duplicatory; these problems are primarily a local responsibility. Consequently, within this compact area, twenty-two municipalities are geared to the financing and administering of these services. Equipment and personnel of the individual municipalities are seldom used to their full capacities. Municipal boundaries are the confining lines; frequently the effective service area of one town is the responsibility of one or more of its neighbors. This is particularly true of fire and police protection in the more densely populated areas surrounding Newark. Fire protection may soon be administered on a more sensible basis among certain municipalities bordering Newark if recent discussions meet a better fate than many previous plans.

The demand for increased services, decreased costs, and state regulation of municipal indebtedness will make the present irritating shortcomings acute problems of the impending future. At present there is a wide variety of formal and informal "understandings" between municipalities to prevent fire, police, and water problems from producing absurd situations similar to Chicago's "no man's land." These existing interjurisdictional agreements are by no means a solution to the problem as a whole. Only earnest coöperation can substitute for administration of these services on at least a county basis. To date no coöperative effort competent of solving the dilemma has appeared on this chaotic scene.

OBSTACLES TO CONSOLIDATION

Any plan for consolidation has the prerequisites of legality and public support. Model provisions for consolidation are embodied in chapter 343 of the *Public Laws of New Jersey 1939,* which require adequate planning, state recommendation, and local referenda. It is the second of the prerequisites which bars the desired reorganization. Basically the problem can be attributed to an "urban attitude" and a "suburban attitude" which are the results of economic and political considerations. One or both of these attitudes stifle any plan in its inception. It must be recognized that no plan can offer economic and political advantages of the type desired to all factions.

The opposition to consolidation is latent primarily because there have been no vigorous and sustained campaigns for reorganization. On several occasions when movements were afoot this opposition made itself felt as will be shown in the historical summary of such movements. There is little opposition from Newark other than certain political considerations which grow out of the fact that New-

ark has strong Democratic and Republican organizations which frequently join forces against the common foe—the "Clean Government" Republicans who dominate suburban politics. It is possible that the enlarged community might make this alliance unavailing, and that Newark would be controlled by the suburban vote.

The forces of opposition in the suburbs rest mainly upon two facts: first, Newark is ruled by "dirty politics," and second, suburban administration and services are superior to those of Newark. Specifically these attitudes are brought about by the special interests and social, political, and economic conditions of the individual communities. The suburbs point to frequent manifestations of politics and some "suspicious deals" in Newark in the not too remote past. Newark's tax rate is usually the highest in the county. The responsibility of assuming Newark's net bonded debt of approximately $75,000,000, while not particularly large viewed from a per capita basis, alarms suburbanites.

Several suburban communities are noted for their wealth and fear diversion of part of their revenues for the benefit of less fortunate neighbors. Needed capital improvements in some outlying suburbs would cause several of the more completely developed suburbs, as well as Newark, to view consolidation as a scheme to shift capital costs to those who have already made improvements.

Control of the enlarged electorate is a problem for both Newark and suburban forces to speculate upon. An enlarged city might shift the balance of political power to the other group since many county elections are decided upon the narrowest of margins. A local patriotism, particularly in some of the wealthier and "exclusive" communities is of such intensity that many would justify an individual existence of these communities for the prestige of their names alone. Closely allied with these sentiments is the fear of joining with Newark and its large foreign-born and negro population. It is assumed that this group is easy prey for unscrupulous politicians. It is also feared that present impotent minorities of suburban "undesirables" might form an uncontrollable combine with the Newark elements if the political areas were merged.

Until the time when spectacular advantages of consolidation can be demonstrated, public opinion will continue to be dominated by the considerations mentioned.

ATTEMPTS TO CONSOLIDATE

During the past twenty-five years Essex County has witnessed numerous attempts to reorganize the area. As early as 1915 a "Greater Newark" was planned which called for incorporation of municipalities of an adjoining county rather than the Essex suburbs which were of minor importance at the time. In 1924 interest in consolidation was aroused when Essex suburban growth reached notable proportions. During the legislative sessions of 1926, 1927, and 1928, bills to facilitate consolidations were submitted, each of which was defeated by strong suburban opposition groups. Several hybrid plans were offered at the time.

During 1927 the annexation of East Newark and Harrison to Essex County was discussed but shelved because Essex Republicans feared the effects of these two strongly Democratic communities. At the same time the mayors of Caldwell, West Caldwell, North Caldwell, and Essex Fells urged a merger of these communities. Their present independent status reveals the unsuccessful results of their effort.

These developments did arouse public interest. The Newark Chamber of Commerce urged a federation of the municipalities of the metropolitan Newark area. Officials of the suburbs promptly expressed disfavor. President Dodds of Princeton, addressing a Newark group shortly thereafter, criticized the chaotic governmental areas and predicted that "consolidation of some sort is as inevitable as death or taxes." During 1928 and 1929 two prominent Essex citizens spoke on the problem and suggested consideration of the possibilities of a federated city.

In 1933 a new consolidation bill was introduced in the New Jersey Assembly. Municipal consolidation measures had, by this time, almost become a permanent part of the legislature's agenda, but the sponsor believed that the depression would make friends for the bill. The need for economy had no effect upon the opposition.

One result of the agitation was the creation in June 1933 of a State Commission to Study Consolidation of Local Governments, under the chairmanship of Thomas McCarter. The following November the commission suggested that the county should play a more important part in local government by assuming certain municipal functions. The chairman characterized conditions as "intolerable" and suggested that solution lay either in outright or functional consolidation. In December of 1934 the commission recommended indefinite postponement of any move to consolidate county and municipal governments. Officially it was announced that public sentiment was insufficient, but it was suggested by the press that coöperation of municipal officials was lacking.

During 1936 and 1937 a mild "civic group" interest was nursed by several speakers. A county official emphasized that any plan had to come from citizen groups and recommended that, if nothing else, tax collections be made by the county. The following year a plan for the consolidation of Orange, East Orange, South Orange, and West Orange died during the speech-making stage.

POSSIBLE SOLUTION

The Princeton Local Government Survey obtained the enactment of a model consolidation bill by the legislature in 1939. No further legislative aid is necessary, but the new law has had little effect upon the opinion of municipal officialdom. Since its enactment one official has expressed opposition to consolidation but urged a survey of the problem because it was highly controversial and complicated. He admitted, however, that "many common services could be merged with marked savings for the taxpayers."

History clearly shows that consolidation in Essex County is generally viewed as interesting speculation, but

remote and impractical. Evidently political "independence" is worth the excessive cost even to those who tilt with a vague foe of inefficiency and oppressive tax burdens.

In this setting of lethargic public opinion, guarded special interests, and local prides, what are the possible methods by which the present situation can be changed? Twenty-five years of agitation for direct consolidation have resulted in nothing. It appears that desired ends can be reached only by charted indirection.

The county government has been mentioned in some detail, and at this point it must be stated that Essex County government has not been a "dark continent." Aside from its alertness and general reputation for honest administration is a peculiar feature of its structure by which the office of county supervisor could be transformed into a modern county manager. At present this is an elective office. A change whereby this officer would be appointed by the county board of freeholders would be the first step toward the reorganization of this government for the purpose of assuming a greater administrative responsibility.

Functional consolidation may then be realized through the county government; a solution which is the only one likely to succeed. Functional consolidation is recommended for several reasons: first, it could be effected immediately in those functions which constitute the most pressing problems; second, gradual shifting of responsibilities to the county government would draw less attention and protest from consolidation opponents; and third, the gradual process would permit the county government to effectively reorganize its internal administrative machinery to cope with increased functions.

The consolidated community of Essex County can be achieved, under present conditions, only through this slow, indirect method. It is hoped that its application in Essex County will solve some of the most distressing problems and in doing so will aid in changing public opinion to favor still greater consolidation. If functional consolidation could be continued it is possible that the final result would leave the present municipal units with a few unimportant functions. The tottering claims to continued existence might then fall to an enlightened public opinion.

It is necessary, however, to end in a realistic, if not dismal, note—the desired ends will be achieved only after a long, unrelenting campaign of diplomacy, planning, research, and education by clear-sighted citizen groups.

Irish Manager Government Extended

Achievements of manager plan in cities of Eire have led to its extension to all counties; system has full support of both major parties.

By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE
University of Michigan

FOR a few years after the establishment of the Irish Free State (now known as Eire) in 1921, English influences continued to dominate Irish local government. Large county-borough, county, and borough councils persisted, functioning as in the days of English rule. By means of large committees acting in conjunction with administrative and professional officers, over-all direction and surveillance was given to local activities and employees.

The first break with tradition came in the nineteen-twenties through the dissolution of certain local corporations (like those of the county-boroughs of Dublin and Cork) in favor of administration by a centrally-appointed commission as in Dublin, or by a single commissioner as in Cork. This action amounted to a negation of local self-government, although the centrally-selected commissioners were not necessarily adamant against local influences or bent upon house-cleaning local staffs.

Essentially, these commissioners supplanted the general control of administration previously wielded by the elected councils. In fact, they performed so well as supervisory agencies that Dublin and Cork were never to return completely to control by locally-elected, representative councils. Instead they were destined for a modified system of local self-government plus a high degree of centralized authority.

The second radical readjustment of Ireland's urban and rural administrations involved the method of appointing their executive, professional, and technical personnel. In the period from 1921 to 1926 appearance of a spoils system threatened the selection of personnel by county-borough, county, borough, urban district, and town councils. When influences of a political or personal nature were brought to bear, the national government decided to step into what might become an ugly situation.

William T. Cosgrave, as President of the Executive Council (cabinet), sponsored a new plan for the recruitment of certain local officers and employees. By the local authorities (officers and employees) act of 1926, a centrally-appointed Local Appointments Commission was set in motion. This body of three commissioners, responsible to the Executive Council, was given power to recruit by examination for executive, professional, and technical positions in local units. Local councils were required to appoint to such posts candidates selected by the LAC. Centralized recruitment became the source for such officers and

employees as managers, secretaries, clerks, medical officers, engineers and surveyors, fire brigade officers, architects, rate inspectors, sanitary inspectors, etc.

In examining applicants, the LAC, which has been functioning ever since, has made wide use of what is called "interview board" procedure. The LAC sets up a panel of experts and laymen to hold oral interviews, and these panel boards rate the applicants as to training, experience, and personality. Their recommendations are reported to the LAC which, in turn, certifies the leading candidate to the appropriate local authority for appointment. Except in certain cases of promotion from within the service, it is impossible for the local authorities to escape from the heavy but expert hand of the LAC in the choice of executive, professional, and technical officers and employees.

MANAGER PLAN ESTABLISHED

The third major trend away from the English model came in certain Irish municipalities. This was the establishment of county-borough and borough management. The first community to be organized on the managerial principle was the county-borough of Cork in 1929. The county-borough of Dublin and the borough of Dun Laoghaire (in the Dublin metropolitan area) followed suit the next year. Two other county-boroughs—Limerick (1934) and Waterford (1939)—became managerial experiments.

Although these local units were reorganized by means of special acts passed by the Oireachtas (parliament), the same general organizational and administrative principles are in large measure common to all. The formula worked out for Cork by John J. Horgan, prominent solicitor of that city, General Richard Mulcahy, then Minister for Local Government and Public Health, and E. P. McCarron, then secretary to that department, has stood the test of time and has been reworked in subsequent acts. Mr. Horgan had studied the American manager plan and had written an article for *Studies* on "City Management in America" as early as 1920.

In writing subsequently about the Cork city management act in an explanatory pamphlet in 1929, he remarked about his own earlier investigations: "I found that in this field [city management] America had been the world's chief laboratory for political experiment, and that though costly, and not always effective or satisfactory, these experiments had been most instructive, and had in the end led to real and notable improvements in the administration of municipal affairs."

The American system of council-manager government was greatly modified in its application to Ireland. At the core of the managerial idea in the United States is the power of the local council to appoint and to remove the manager and the power of the manager to appoint and remove administrative subordinates. Although some of the Irish acts named the original managers, the basic plan of selection which they all incorporate is that of recruitment by the LAC. Furthermore, removal of a manager may be made only by vote

of the local council concerned and the approval of the Minister for Local Government and Public Health, and thus far no removal has occurred. So both as to appointments and removals central control is of paramount influence. This means that the supervision which Irish councils may exert over their managers is by no means as direct and compelling a force as is the case in American cities.

On the other hand, the experienced Irish manager consults and advises with the council in a reciprocal interchange which does little to remind one of the powers of central authorities as to his recruitment and removal. That is to say, while the managers need not brook any interference with their statutory powers, they are willing to discuss administrative policies and acts with their councils. There is an obvious line between consultation and dictation. In Ireland, I never heard the view expressed that any manager submitted to orders, thus becoming the clerk of the council in administrative matters.

A further radical difference is that the section (department) heads in Ireland are not appointed by nor removable by the manager. Here, too, the LAC plays its accustomed part in recruitment, while the Minister for Local Government and Public Health must approve removals.

Nevertheless, the Irish manager is the chief executive of the city; his working relationship with department heads is close; and his power to suspend and to instigate removals gives him a firm grip on administration. For example, the first borough manager of Dun Laoghaire obtained the removal of some twenty officers and employees. Members of the council objected to no avail. The manager informed them that they were outside their province in attempting to interfere with the process of removal —a power vested in him subject to the action of the Minister for Local Government and Public Health.

WATERFORD ACT

Clarifying the statutory plan of city management in Ireland is the most recent of these individual acts. The Waterford city management act of 1939 provides for a council of fifteen members elected by proportional representation. P.R. is the ruling favorite in Irish affairs, prescribed by the constitution for national elections and provided by statute for local elections. The council, which has power to elect one of its own number as mayor, is vested with authority to exercise all and every power, function, and duty pertaining to a specified range of matters, including: the making of any rate or the borrowing of any money; the making, amending, or revoking of any by-law; the making of any order or resolution by which any enactment is brought into operation in the city, or the revoking of any such order or resolution; the nomination of a candidate for the office of President of Ireland; the appointment or election of members of any public body; parliamentary and local elections; subject to stringent limitations of central control, the appointment, suspension, and removal of the manager; determination of the salary and remuneration of the mayor; dis-

position under the municipal corporations (Ireland) acts, 1840 to 1888, of lands, tenements, and hereditaments belonging to the corporation. These and some other powers of a lesser nature of the council are known as "reserved functions." In addition the Waterford Council was given power, subject to the sanction of the Minister for Local Government and Public Health, to prescribe procedures to be followed in regard to the reception and examination of all or any class or classes of tenders for the supply of goods or the execution of works.

With reference to the appointment, suspension, and removal of the manager, the Waterford city management act parallels the other Irish managerial statutes. The office of manager is one to which the local authorities (officers and employees) act, 1926, applies, which means that recruitment is under the LAC. The manager holds office until he dies, resigns, or is removed. He may not be removed without the sanction of the Minister. A resolution of the council to suspend or to remove the manager requires for passage an affirmative vote of not less than two-thirds of the members of the council pursuant to seven days' notice of such resolution to every council member. The Minister from time to time determines the remuneration of the manager.

The manager is vested by the act with a wide range of power and saddled with various responsibilities. He has a duty: to furnish information at his disposal to the mayor or council on request; to prepare and present to each councilman a monthly statement showing as nearly as may be the financial position of the corporation; to advise and assist the council in the performance of its reserved functions, and to carry out all lawful orders of the council in relation thereto; and, pursuant to resolution of the council, to submit plans and specifications for the execution of works, together with an estimate of probable costs. The manager has a right to attend meetings of the council and to take part in the discussion, but not to vote. Furthermore, he must attend any council or committee meeting when requested so to do.

The manager is given general control and full supervision of officers and servants of the corporation. Subject to regulations of the Minister, the manager considers and determines all questions in relation to the service, remuneration, privileges, and superannuation of officers and employees. He acts by signed order and he must keep a register of orders made by him. He may by signed order, countersigned by the treasurer, authorize the making of payments for expenses and accounts legally incurred by the council or manager. The council may by resolution direct that every such order must also be countersigned by the mayor or a designated member of the council.

UNANIMOUS SUPPORT

Bills of the Oireachtas dealing with management in Cork, Dublin, Dun Laoghaire, Limerick, and Waterford have all been sponsored by the Department of Local Government and Public Health, and they have had the sanction of the

government majority. Whereas the Cork, Dublin, and Dun Laoghaire acts were passed by the Cosgrave Government, the Limerick and Waterford acts were passed by the De Valera administration. The inception of the earlier measures provoked long debate on general principles. By the time of the Waterford bill in 1939, however, parliamentary discussion turned on details and technicalities.

The fact that both major parties have seen fit to support extension of the managerial idea is a good omen. The truth of the matter is that there has not been a great deal of faith in the use of councils and their committee system as instrumentalities for the supervision of administration. The need pressed for some chief executive to integrate administrative control, to deal *vis-a-vis* with the administration and the council, to focus central-local relationships, and the Irish city manager has been the result.

MANAGERS AT WORK

How the manager plan works in practice varies among the different councils and managers. Mr. Philip Monahan was commissioner of Cork before the manager plan was established in 1929. For four years he administered the city without benefit of council. This perhaps accounts for the fact that he is the example par excellence of the manager who forges ahead on his own initiative without as much consultation with members and committees as the council might like. Managers in the other cities are more apt to lean over backwards in consulting and informing their respective councils in advance about administrative details over which the manager actually has full rein.[1]

Mr. P. J. Hernon was one of the commissioners in control of the Dublin Corporation during the twenties. When the Dun Laoghaire manager plan was set up in 1930, he became the executive for that borough. During 1937 he was advanced to the Dublin managership. In that position, which is the leading executive position in a local governmental unit in Ireland, he carries on normally without utilizing general staff meetings of his department heads. He summons such staff meetings only when the corporation is getting out a report for some central authority. Then the staff is called together to hammer out a unitary policy which will be supported by the collateral reports from the individual departments. Various interstaff relationships serve him as occasion demands. For example, if the fire brigade chief requests new apparatus, the manager requires that the proposed equipment be approved by the city engineer before he as manager will include this as a budget item to go forward to the council. While general staff meetings are not the rule, individual consultations with department heads are frequent—and as the manager said, they can always get him on the phone.

Consultation with the department heads is only one facet of the manager's many-sided duties. It is his

[1]How the plan actually works has been described to me by various city managers with whom I have had interviews in 1936 and again in 1939.

business to keep the council informed. While this is done at regular meetings by formal reports and informal statements, there is another avenue of approach no less vital. With the sectional committees of the council, which keep in general touch with the work of the different departments, Mr. Hernon maintains close communication. This committee set-up is unquestionably, in part, a vestige of the days when councils wielded complete power over administration, and committees were the means whereby this control ramified into departmental detail. The Dublin manager follows a policy of telling the committees fully and frankly what the administration is doing. They may not be amused, but they are kept informed. The manager figures that two days out of every week are devoted to consulting with department heads and with committees of the council.

To field trips, to viewing such projects as municipal housing schemes, road construction, the new water supply scheme, the Dublin manager devotes as much time as he can spare. He generally goes alone and without advance notice, preferring that the men on the job do not recognize him.

Unpredictable but inevitably involving the manager are trade union disputes arising out of various construction projects. For such an agricultural country, labor is well organized in Ireland. In addition, there is a Labor party which polls in general elections anywhere from eight to twelve seats out of the 138 in the Dail or lower legislative house. City management inevitably responds to predominating factors in the public scene, and trade unionism in Ireland is one of them.

One of the interesting things is to observe how a trained manager shifts his sights from the problems of one city to those of another. In 1936 Mr. T. C. O'Mahony was the county-borough manager of Limerick. There he was engrossed in municipal housing projects and public works problems. He had visualized and studied important trends in the growth of the city and had foreseen the *probable* need for annexation of certain surrounding areas.

After Mr. Hernon moved up from the Dun Laoghaire post to Dublin, Mr. O'Mahony was recommended by the Local Appointments Commission to the Dun Laoghaire council. Accordingly, in 1939 he engrossed himself in the managerial problems of that borough. This post, because of the pleasing location of the borough on Dublin Bay and the wealth of its residents, is regarded as a plum in Irish local administration.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

The borough manager, as Mr. O'Mahony acknowledged, was not without his problems: the numerous retired pensioners residing in Dun Laoghaire have time to object if the garbage is not collected on time, for example. The commercial interests want to develop the resort aspects of the city along Blackpool lines, while old residents yearn to keep it as an exclusive residential city. Other problems spring from Dun Laoghaire's favored-resort position in the metropolitan area of Dublin. Some Dubliners wanted Dun Laoghaire to erect sea baths for holiday and week-

end crowds; the people of Dun Laoghaire did not desire sea baths even if some other source were to contribute 85 per cent of the cost of the project. Shore traffic on the main streets of the borough was a serious problem. An interlocking issue was Dun Laoghaire's dependence on the corporation of Dublin for its water supply, a matter which raised issues as to amounts and prices.

WATER AND SEWAGE PROBLEMS

In Limerick, in 1939, the manager was faced with a very old problem, that of a palatable supply of water. Limerick draws its water supply from the Shannon and it has a peaty color. In the Limerick rapid-sand filtration plant they have been using alum for settling and chlorine for safety. During the summer of 1939 they were experimenting with lime treatment. Water supply was the most common source of popular complaint.

The city maintains its own trucks and employees for garbage collection. Like other local authorities, for street lighting the city rents standards and lamps from the Electricity Supply Board (a central governmental authority) and buys its electric current from the same source. Limerick is not far from the hydro-electric development on the Shannon River at Ardnacrusha.

Sewage is discharged untreated into the Shannon west of Limerick. This river flows rapidly and the absence of any large community between Limerick and the Atlantic makes a sewage disposal plant unlikely. Limerick constructs and maintains its own streets, but like other local authorities, receives grants from the central government for the construction and maintenance of arterial streets.

Again following general practice, the city must purchase its supplies from the official list of contractors at established prices issued annually by the combined purchasing section of the Department of Local Government and Public Health.

When I talked with him, Mr. Berkery had been in Limerick for only four months, having moved up from a lesser post in Clonmel. He had found the county-borough council very coöperative. One of the basic problems in local government, he thought, was the tendency of people not to improve their property, because they were so afraid that their ratable valuation would be increased.

One of the most pragmatic tests of any system of local administration is whether it is or is not being extended to other units of government. In 1940 a general act of the Oireachtas provided for the application of the managerial plan to all counties. This, as well as many other factors, speaks well for the achievements of Irish city managers.

Author's Note.—Acknowledgment is made to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan for a grant which made this and other studies of Ireland possible during the summer of 1939.

Tennessee Cities a Proving Ground for Nation

Recent acquisition of electric properties and development of contracts with TVA will require up-to-date standards of finance and accounting.

By LEE S. GREENE, *University of Tennessee*, and LYNDON E. ABBOTT, *Work Projects Administration*

THE problems of urban administration in Tennessee are to be viewed against a unique background of population distribution. The state has four metropolitan districts; the remainder of its 233 incorporated places have less than 30,000 people each, according to the 1930 census. Most of the incorporated places have less than 5,000 inhabitants each. Thus, the administrative machinery of Tennessee must recognize the existence of a cleavage between the large urban area and the small town, where no communities of intermediate size exist.

Tennessee is one of the few remaining states in which cities rely chiefly on the special charter method of incorporation. Each session of the legislature is confronted with a large mass of local special bills, a considerable proportion of which finds its way into statutes. As a rule, the legislature passes local measures as sponsored by local legislative delegations. Sometimes this may reflect local opinion adequately, but there is no guarantee that this will be the case. As a general rule, local machinery to influence formally and directly the passage of local special acts is not provided.[1] General law charters for the mayor-council system and for council-manager government exist, but few cities have used either of these options.

No provision is made for home rule for cities nor can it be said that a demand for it exists. From time to time the citizens appear to be conscious of a need for more adequate means of expressing their views on local affairs but so far the special legislation system has furnished enough outlet for this demand to deflect the development of a demand for home rule.

Tennessee cities rely chiefly on the mayor-council and commission forms. As of September 1938, there were 178 mayor-council cities in the state, and thirty-five cities under the commission form. Only six cities were functioning under the manager plan.[2]

[1] An instance is provided in the change from the city manager system in Knoxville to the mayor-council type, and back again to the city manager form. No provision existed whereby the issue could be made dependent on a local referendum. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1938, p. 46; March 1939, p. 248.

[2] *Cf.* Lyndon E. Abbott and Lee S. Greene, *Municipal Government and Administration in Tennessee* (University of

At that time Memphis and Chattanooga functioned under the commission form, and Nashville and Knoxville were under the mayor-council system. Knoxville, Johnson City, and Columbia have since joined the city manager cities. Some of the explanation for the sparing use of the manager plan is undoubtedly to be found in the size of Tennessee urban units.

Throughout the state free use of boards and commissions is made for the conduct of special functions. Education is frequently entrusted to special boards, although there are important instances, such as Chattanooga and Jackson, where it is treated as are other functions. Boards are also used for such functions as parks, hospitals, planning and zoning, pension and sinking fund management. In one important instance, that of Memphis, the use of commissions and special boards is emphasized to a striking degree, although some of these boards are in reality bureaus attached to city departments.

Tennessee cities are relatively free from the plague of special districts. Although a number of such districts are authorized by law, comparatively few have been organized. This is also true of metropolitan areas, particularly with respect to Knoxville and Nashville. Neither city is completely free from boundary problems, but as compared to areas in other states, little conflict arises in these urban areas because of competing local units.

The financial problems faced by Tennessee municipalities are exceedingly grave. The situation requires the placing of undue reliance on the property tax. State-administered, locally-shared taxes have not been widely developed in Tennessee and, aside from schools, the grant-in-aid has not been extensively employed. Federal grants have constituted important sources of municipal income. The solution of Tennessee's urban revenue problems depends upon an adequate revision of state fiscal policy, which so far is not in sight.

URBAN FINANCE

Tax administration in Tennessee leaves much to be desired, although signs of improvement are discernible. Some cities rely on county assessments, whereas others employ municipal assessors. This is a reflection of a situation in which county assessment valuations are frequently such that urban areas feel the need for independent treatment. If county assessment methods were improved, it would be possible to eliminate some overlapping in this field. Studies of assessment in Tennessee indicate great variation in valuation practices as between separate assessing units. Improvement of any real scope can scarcely be expected until administrative guidance is offered by state agencies.

Certain Tennessee cities are using acceptable techniques for improving their collection records. Memphis, Nashville, and others permit installment paying. Memphis and Knoxville are examples of a considerable number of cities which use early payment discounts. A few cities mail tax bills.

Tennessee, 1939), p. 52, table VII. This study forms the basis for much of the information included in this paper.

Delinquency continues to be an extremely serious problem in Tennessee. The legislature has displayed a tendency to interfere in municipal collection by waiving interest and delinquent penalties at various times. As a general rule, litigation has not proved attractive to cities as a means of collecting delinquent taxes.

A large number of the smaller cities of the state make no effort to operate under careful budget administration. Most of the larger cities, however, are cognizant of good budget practices, but in some localities serious defects exist, such as the adoption of the budget after the beginning of the fiscal year. In some cities, the accounting systems used permit an examination at any time of the city's financial position. Nashville undertook a complete revision of its accounting system during the year 1939.[3]

Perhaps the most serious problem is faced in the local debt burden. Frequently the net bonded debt of municipalities reaches 30, 40, or 45 per cent of the assessed valuation. In Knoxville 38 per cent of the tax rate goes for debt service. This proportion is exceeded in many places; in several towns, over 70 per cent of the tax rate is devoted to debt service. A number of Tennessee cities reorganized their debt under the federal municipal bankruptcy acts.

Causes for this city debt cannot be readily assigned but some contributing factors may be found in the rapid urban expansion of recent years, inadequate tax collections, and, in some instances, local economic changes over which cities have no control. Moreover, the practice of granting inducements to industry tends to increase the debt burden.

Tennessee urban debt administration, in common with that in many parts of the country, fails to measure up to the most approved practices. An example can be noted in the arrangement of maturities commonly found, although it is encouraging to see that recent refundings have shown an improvement in the planning of maturities.

The system of special legislation employed in the state complicates debt administration in that bonds are frequently validated by special legislative act after actual flotation has occurred. No executive state control is exercized over the incurrence of debt by cities.

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Under present conditions of administration, personnel management is a live municipal issue principally in larger urban units. Little can be accomplished for smaller cities except under the guidance and aid of the state. Tennessee has not yet reached that state of interest in personnel matters. Two of the larger cities, Knoxville and Memphis, have developed formal merit systems which cover a considerable proportion of the total number of employees. The merit system has been applied in part in a few other cities, but in all cases additional effort seems required in order to bring the systems into accord with most advanced practices.

Those systems which exist tend to be confined to some provision for control of recruitment, but as yet in-

[3] *The Municipal Year Book, 1940,* The International City Managers' Association, Chicago, 1940, p. 159.

adequate recognition is accorded to the need for comprehensive classification and compensation plans. Grievance and dismissal procedure constitutes an especially troublesome problem in some quarters. In Knoxville a portion of the civil servants are entitled to *de novo* hearings before the courts on dismissal. This clumsy procedure seems to have worked out very badly from the point of view of sound administration.

Retirement provisions covering a portion of the employees are provided for by charter in the five largest Tennessee cities. These provisions are carried out in the form of twelve systems, separately operated and differing in detail from each other. Judging from financial reports of recent years, it seems that most of the systems are being operated on the cash disbursement basis. It is thus questionable whether the funds can continue to be operated without embarrassment in the future.

In-service training in Tennessee cities has attracted some attention, although it has thus far been limited largely to public safety services.

Unionism among municipal employees has failed to establish itself in many cities. Only in Chattanooga has an affiliated organization of municipal employees survived,[4] although non-affiliated organizations exist in some cities.

UTILITY ADMINISTRATION

In common with other cities of the country, Tennessee urban units face new problems brought by the assumption of new duties. Because of the recent acquisition of electric properties and the development of contracts with the Tennessee Valley Authority, Tennessee cities will become a proving ground for federal-municipal relationships. Contractual relationships with TVA will require the observance of certain standards of accounting and fiscal policy with respect to electricity funds under which the utility's operation is to be separated from the city's governmental operations. These standards certainly constitute a very definite advance over practices obtaining in many Tennessee municipalities until within recent months.

Separation from other city functions is reflected further in the development of special boards for the administration of city utilities to a considerable degree independent of other city administrative and political agencies. The Knoxville board exemplifies what seems likely to become a general pattern.[5] This board consists of five commissioners, at first appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the city council. Terms are for ten years, arranged in staggered order. Future vacancies are to be filled by nomination by the city manager and the board sitting together, although the city manager has a veto on any suggested nominee. Nominees become commissioners if approved by a majority vote of the city council. With certain exceptions, the electric and water system is declared to "be free from jurisdiction, direction, and control of other city

[4] Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers' Federation, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers.

[5] *The Municipal Year Book, 1940*, p. 235; NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1939, p. 310.

officers and employees and of the city council."[6] Semi-annual reports are to be made by the board to the city council through the city manager. The board is required to appoint a general manager of the system, responsible to the board and serving at its pleasure.

It is evident from this form of organization that an attempt is being made, by a familiar device, to give municipal utility systems a status separate from the ordinary administrative apparatus of the city. Whether or not such separation, particularly in a city manager system, is advisable is open to question. Insistence on this plan of organization is still common within citizen groups.

HOUSING AND PLANNING

With the aid of the federal government, Tennessee cities have also entered the field of public housing. Projects of the Public Works Administration have been developed in Memphis and Nashville, and the USHA has aided projects in Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and Kingsport.[7] The Tennessee enabling statute with respect to public housing has been upheld by the state supreme court.[8] Housing is administered typically by special housing authorities.

Some concept of the role of planning has been awakened in Tennessee cities, although in common with other urban areas of the country, planning has not been carefully followed through into day-to-day problems. The state legislature passed a 1939 statute enabling unincorporated communities to prepare and adopt master plans.[9] City or regional planning commissions have been set up in some of the smaller cities and in Davidson County, Shelby County, in the Great Smokies region, and in northeast Tennessee. Memphis probably has the best record for following through on planned improvements. Kingsport has been built up on a carefully worked out street plan, but failure of architectural control, aside from a civic center, has produced disappointing results. Much remains to be accomplished in Knoxville, where the present sprawl of building over surrounding areas is already producing consequences bound to become more serious in the future. Apparently planning is actively pursued in Nashville, where a long-time public works program has been considered.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS

One of the most encouraging aspects of municipal administration in Tennessee is the development of cooperation between governmental units. Although no progress has been made in the matter of territorial consolidation, functional coöperation and consolidation between county and city units is evidenced in the fields of taxation, health, welfare, education, and land-use planning. Unfortunately the record of coöperation is not so good with respect to law enforcement agencies, but even here, some progress can be noted. Coöperation between cities is more unusual and perhaps it is here that major effort

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[6] Tennessee, *Private Acts*, 1939, chap. 106, sec. 32-A (6).

[7] *The Municipal Year Book, 1940*, pp. 322 ff.

[8] *Knoxville Housing Authority, Inc.* v. *City of Knoxville, et al.*, 174 Tenn. 76.

[9] *Public Acts*, chap. 158.

Pennsylvania Experiments with Public Service Training

Correctional Workers School conducts successful classes for custodial and probation workers, parole agents, etc. First year of endeavor receives approval and cooperation of judges, probation officers, and prison administrators.

By J. O. REINEMANN
Juvenile Division, Philadelphia Municipal Court

THE wholesome trend of developing public service into a profession has brought about a growing demand from state, municipal, and county administrations for in-service training. Newspapers and periodicals report a number of courses for police officers, for workers in fire, health, and welfare departments of cities and counties, for employees in the correctional field.

In-service training is not a substitute for adequate preparation for entering such work, it is no short-cut to governmental service, it is no competition for colleges, universities, and schools of social work. It is destined—as its name clearly defines—to aid those who are already public servants, who might have been government employees for many years, in the daily performance of their work.

This report deals with a new experiment in public service training carried out during recent months in Pennsylvania.

The Public Service Institute, a unit of the State Department of Public Instruction in Harrisburg, was organized to develop programs of in-service training to be given free of charge on a state-wide and zone basis. Its funds come largely from the federal government through the George-Deen act (which amended the Smith-Hughes act by extending its provision of funds for vocational education to the field of training of public service employees). After the institute established training courses for police officers, firemen, and administrative employees of state departments, it entered a new phase of work by sponsoring, for the first time, such in-service instruction for workers in the correctional field during the winter 1939-1940.

Training of correctional workers in the past has been limited to lectures before the staffs of probation departments of certain courts, or instruction of prison personnel in physical training and enforcement of rules and regulations. This kind of training is better than none, but it is necessarily limited to the narrow confines of the officer's job routine.

The Correctional Workers' School, as organized by the Public Service Institute and set up simultaneously in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, was unique because it included as students both institutional and non-institutional workers from a number of different agencies,[1] because its

[1] A valuable by-product to the primary

program embraced the wide field of criminal justice and penal treatment in its different stages without neglecting the presentation and discussion of problems which are specific either in probation and parole or prison administration, and finally because a special textbook was prepared for the students. The compilation of this study manual, which was distributed in advance of each lesson, was expertly done by Helen D. Pigeon, formerly executive secretary of the International Association of Policewomen, who had been active in probation work in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Although there has been sufficient literature dealing with individual phases of correctional work, no comprehensive study was available which, without being too academic, contained condensed material on historical development, legal and social aspects, procedures and techniques, and a bibliography on the various aspects of criminology. This gap has now been filled by the study manual of the Correctional Workers' School.

TWO CITIES PARTICIPATE

Evening classes which began early in January were held once a week for two and one-half hours over a period of twenty-three weeks. In Philadelphia the Municipal Court Building and in Pittsburgh a high school building furnished rooms for class sessions. The program, which was identical in both cities, comprised three sections: "Criminal Justice Program of Pennsylvania," covering police, detention pending trial, the courts, probation, correctional and penal institutions, and parole; "Behavior of the Delinquent"; and "Treatment of the Individual Offender." During the latter part of the program the institutional and non-institutional groups held eight separate meetings. The former considered specific problems presented by the prison inmate—first aid, self-defense, use of weapons, medical and mental problems in the institution. The latter group discussed typical questions of case work in probation and parole administration—establishment of a relationship, use of authority, use of volunteer service, the case work approach. Both groups met jointly for a final class discussion on crime prevention.

In both cities local committees on arrangement, consisting of persons who hold leading positions in the correctional field, were instrumental in organizing courses. Headquarters of the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs of the Public Charities Association served as offices of the local committees. The writer of this report was leader of the course in Philadelphia; Theodor W. Broecker, chief field investigator, Quarter Sessions Court, Probation Department,

aim of in-service training can be attributed to the fact that among students of the courses given in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh a number of agencies were represented all of which work in the same field, and which are called upon to handle identical cases at different stages of their development. The employees of one agency usually do not have much more than occasional and superficial contacts with the workers in the other agencies. They were brought into close personal contact through these courses and thus are now able to appreciate each other's work and the problems involved.

acted as course leader in Pittsburgh.

In Philadelphia classes were attended by probation officers—men and women—from the United States District Court, Quarter Sessions Court, Municipal Court; state parole agents of the Department of Justice; custodial officers, including guards, block officers, identification officers, clerks in the rehabilitation department, from the Eastern State Penitentiary and the County Prison. Institutional and non-institutional workers were equally divided.

The subject was presented by the course leader, assisted at a number of sessions by guest speakers, experts in their respective fields. Dr. E. Preston Sharp, director of rehabilitation of the Eastern State Penitentiary, conducted the eight separate sessions of the institutional group; other guest speakers included a judge, three prison wardens, superintendent of a training school for girls, three heads of probation departments, psychiatrists, and representatives of educational and social agencies. Field trips were made to a vocational school operating under the Board of Education, and to a training school for girls; two clinical demonstrations of mental cases in the psychopathic ward of a hospital were attended by members of the class.

There was an oral quiz after the first half of the course was over. A written examination was given at the end of the course and passed by all forty-one members of the class. The number of enrolled students was originally fifty-three, but declined somewhat because of sickness, change in shift of institutional workers, resignation from office, transfer to other branches of service. Corresponding figures for Pittsburgh were thirty-six and thirty respectively.

COURSES PRAISED

Certificates were awarded to all students for regular attendance and successful completion of the course. At the final exercises in Philadelphia Judge Gerald F. Flood of Common Pleas Court, as principal speaker, stressed the necessity of such training courses for officers in probation, parole, and prison administration from the standpoint of the judge. For the judge, he stated, the knowledge that qualified officers will be in charge of the offender after the verdict is rendered is most important in meting out justice.

These words are characteristic of the general and professional acclaim which this first venture in in-service training for correctional workers in Pennsylvania has received. The school won the full coöperation and approval of judges, heads of probation departments, and prison administrators. It was enthusiastically received by the students themselves. Their participation in class was encouraged in every respect and manifested itself in various ways: records of actual cases were presented to the class and discussed, short papers were read, clippings from newspapers dealing with current events in the correctional field and excerpts from magazines were submitted to the course leader, suggestions regarding the use of charts and graphs were made, etc. Towards

(Continued on Page 706)

That Elusive Majority

The second primary—a complicated device used by southern states for insuring nomination by true majorities—has numerous shortcomings; increases both election costs and burden on the voter.

By JOE PARK
University of Michigan

IN THE south, where nomination to an office within the Democratic party is tantamount to election, an interesting electoral method, the second or run-off primary, is in rather wide use.

Broadly speaking, the second primary is an election method used to manufacture a majority when the first primary fails to give a majority to any one aspirant for nomination to a particular office. In this primary only the names of the two highest candidates at the first primary are placed on the ballot. The candidate who receives the highest number of votes is declared nominated for the office in question.

This practice is not peculiar to the south or to the United States. The French, for example, have a similar system of *ballotage*. To be elected to the French Chamber of Deputies on the first ballot, the candidate must receive a majority of the votes cast. If no candidate receives a majority of the votes, a second election is held. At this second election, the candidate who polls a plurality is declared elected.

In our own country twelve states employ the second primary. The names of these states together with the date of adoption are set forth in Table I.

As seen in the table, Mississippi was the first state to adopt the second primary. The law, which has since been amended, provided for a second primary "for those offices, if any, for which no candidate shall receive a majority . . . , the two candidates who receive the highest popular vote for each office shall have their names submitted to a second primary election, and the nomination shall go to the candidate for each office who shall receive the highest popular vote there-

TABLE I

STATES EMPLOYING THE SECOND PRIMARY

State[a]	*Year of Adoption*
Mississippi	1902
Texas	1903
North Carolina	1915
South Carolina	1915
Georgia	1917
Louisiana	1922
Florida	1929
Oklahoma	1929
Alabama	1931
Tennessee	1937
Utah	1937
Arkansas	1939

[a]The Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly of Kentucky passed, in 1935, an act providing for the second primary. The act was repealed the following year. (See *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky,* Extraordinary Session, 1935, chapter I, section 5a, pp. 7-8; also chapter 53, section 5, 1936, p. 151.)

for in the second primary."[1]

Except for minor differences the laws for the states of Texas, Alabama, Utah, and Arkansas are similar to that adopted in Mississippi. In 1903—a date on which authorities disagree—Texas adopted the second primary.[2] The law stipulates that "any political party may hold a second primary on the last Saturday in July to nominate candidates where a majority is required to make a nomination."[3]

It is of interest to note that Arkansas adopted the second primary in 1933, abolished it in 1935, and readopted it on April 17, 1939. Utah, which adopted the second primary in 1937, is the only state outside the south to employ this device.[4]

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

Because of certain features peculiar to each, the laws of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, Oklahoma, and Tennessee will be discussed separately.

The statute of North Carolina states that a second primary shall be held when "the aspirant receiving the second highest number of votes shall, within five days . . . file in writing with the appropriate board of elections a request that a second primary be called and held," provided, of course, no candidate receives a majority of the votes in the first primary.[5]

The statute of South Carolina provides for a third primary in the event the second results in a tie.[6] The second primary in Georgia operates under the "county unit vote." The party candidates for nomination to the offices of United States senator and governor are required to receive a majority of all county unit votes or stand in a second primary election to be conducted by the party.[7]

In Louisiana "in the event the governor is nominated in the first primary election, there shall be no second primary election for state offices who ran in the first primary."[8] Florida provides for the county executive committee or the congressional committee, as the case may be, to nominate, by majority vote, a candidate for the office in question, if the second primary fails to produce a majority.[9]

The statute of Oklahoma excludes from the second primary city and town offices.[10] Tennessee does not hold a second primary unless "there is a tie between the two highest candidates for an office."[11]

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[1] *Laws of the State of Mississippi,* chapter 66, section 5, 1902, pp. 107-108.

[2] See Charles Merriam and Louise Overacker, *Primary Elections.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. 82-83.

[3] *General Laws of the State of Texas,* chapter 101, section 84, 1903, p. 149.

See also *1932 Supplement to the Alabama Code of 1928,* pp. 26-28; and *Acts of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas,* act 372, 1939, pp. 979-981.

[4] *Laws of the State of Utah, Twenty-second Legislature,* chapter 29, 1937, p. 57.

[5] *North Carolina Code of 1935,* section 6045, p. 2013.

[6] *Code of Laws of South Carolina,* vol. II, 1932, p. 162.

[7] *Code of Georgia,* book 12, 1936, pp. 97-98.

[8] *General Statutes of the State of Louisiana,* vol. II, 1939, p. 255.

[9] *Permanent Cumulative Supplement to Compiled General Statutes of Florida,* First Division, title IV, chapter I, article 2, 1938, pp. 53-55.

[10] *Session Laws of Oklahoma,* chapter 241, 1929, pp. 306-8.

[11] *Michie's Tennessee Code of 1938,* p. 311, and *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee,* Seventy-first General As-

To summarize, the common provisions of the laws of these twelve states are: (1) a second primary is held when the first primary gives no candidate for nomination to a particular office a majority of the votes cast; (2) only the two candidates who receive the highest number of votes for nomination to an office in the first primary may be candidates for that office in the second;[12] and (3) a third primary is not provided for, except in South Carolina.

RESULTS FREQUENTLY REVERSED

A study of the returns of second primaries leads to a consideration of the question, How often are the results of the first primary reversed by the second? In other words, does the candidate who receives the plurality in the first primary always, frequently, seldom, or never receive the majority in the second? The answer to this question will reveal whether the second primary serves the purpose it was intended to serve and whether it is necessary to conduct second primaries. Table II, showing the results of second primaries, includes enough data to indicate the character of the results.[13]

TABLE II

RESULTS OF SECOND PRIMARY CONTESTS 1920-1938

State	*Candidate receiving plurality in first primary received majority in second primary*	*Candidate receiving second highest vote in first primary received majority in second*
Alabama	22	5
Florida	20	6
Georgia	2	0
North Carolina	5	3
South Carolina	2	0
Oklahoma	73	20
Texas	5	7
Total	129	41

Of 170 second primary contests studied, 129 candidates who received a plurality in the first primary received a majority in the second. Only in 41 of 170 contests were the results of the first primary reversed. Stated otherwise, 76 per cent of the second primary contests merely manufacture a majority for the person who received a plurality in the first. In only one out of four contests was the result reversed. In Oklahoma, the state for which data are most nearly complete, of ninety-three second primaries, twenty reversed the decision of the voters in the first primary. In other words, in 78.5 per cent of the contests the person who received a plurality in the first primary also received a majority at the second.

What benefits are derived from the second primary? There are at least two. The second primary provides an opportunity for the voters to elect a candidate by a real majority and it permits a candidate who ran second in a large field to prove that he has an actual majority behind him when the contest is narrowed down to his

sembly, chapter 2, section 6, 1939, p. 18.

[12] There are certain exceptions. See *1938 Supplement to the Mississippi Code of 1930*, chapter 151, p. 1351; and *Acts of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Arkansas*, pp. 979-981. The Mississippi law states: "When there is a tie in the first primary of those receiving the next highest vote, these two and the one receiving the highest vote . . . shall go into the second primary."

[13] At the present the Bureau of Government at the University of Michigan has on file the results of 170 second primary contests.

strongest opponent. For example, in Texas in 1924, at the first primary, Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson received 146,424 votes to 193,508 cast for Felix D. Robertson, for the governorship. However, in the second primary, Mrs. Ferguson defeated Robertson 413,751 to 316,019 votes.

Whatever may be said in favor of the second primary it also has its shortcomings. There can be no doubt that it increases election expenses, that it increases the voting burden of the citizen, and that it complicates the electoral system.

In the light of these facts it seems advisable for states using the second primary to consider one or both of the following: (1) combine the second primary and the general election; or (2) adopt a system of preferential voting (or proportional representation, where elections are for a legislative body), thus eliminating the need for any primary.

POSSIBLE SUBSTITUTES

The second primary could be combined with the general election where one party continuously dominates the political scene. This combination would eliminate one "voting" for the citizen and would reduce the cost of nominating candidates. The difficulty of a divided vote between the two candidates for an office as against one candidate for the opposing party could be overcome by the use of the party column ballot with the understanding that a vote cast for either of the party's two candidates would be a vote for that party. If the party having the two candidates received most votes, that candidate would be elected who received most votes within the party.

The second suggestion, the use of the preferential ballot, undoubtedly would be more desirable.

MAINE A PIONEER

(Continued from Page 653)

member serves without compensation "but shall be reimbursed for his actual and necessary expenses incurred in the performance of his duties." The council meets regularly twice each month.

All administrative functions are performed by the manager, except that the council is authorized to appoint a tax collector and a health officer, and to confirm all of the appointments of the manager. The manager is to be chosen "solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications and his technical knowledge for road construction, preference being given when possible to a qualified engineer." Until recently road construction and maintenance constituted the largest town expense excepting only schools, hence all the towns felt compelled to secure an engineer capable of taking personal charge of the highway program. Engineers, however, have not always succeeded in meeting so efficiently the problems of social engineering in relief and welfare administration.

The manager system in Maine municipalities is emerging from the experimental stage and, today, may be recognized as an accepted and approved form of municipal administration. Attention now may be turned to improving the system by making clearer the relation between the manager and the city council or the town selectmen, and by placing administrative responsibility unquestionably in the manager.

Contributors in Review

FIELD trips to Ireland in 1936-37 and 1939 provided **Arthur W. Bromage** (*Irish Manager Government Extended*) with the material for the article in the present issue of this magazine and for previous articles on proportional representation and city management in Ireland. Dr. Bromage recently fathered a pamphlet, published by the National Municipal League, on *Manager Plan Abandonments*. His interest in county and rural government was also responsible for *American County Government* (1933), *Organization and Cost of County and Township Government* (with Thomas H. Reed, 1933), and there is a later book on *State Government and Administration in the United States*. Mr. Bromage is professor of government at the University of Michigan.

THE first in forty years to declare "nil" as his campaign expenses, **Frank Stewart Gaines** (*A City Goes to Town Meeting*) has been mayor of good-government-minded Berkeley, California, since July 1, 1939. In other respects as well Mr. Gaines does not conform to the "political" stereotype of a mayor. For twenty-six years he was a business man active in the manufacture of iron and steel products. Then for eight years he roamed the world in the interest of American trade development. His civic activities have included chairmanship (for eleven years) of the section on International Relations of the Commonwealth Club of California and active participation in such diverse enterprises as the American Red Cross, University of California International House, Christian Colleges in China, Mills College Institute of International Relations—and many others.

HAVING both worked for the University of Tennessee and for the TVA, Messrs. **Lee S. Greene** and **Lyndon E. Abbott** (*Tennessee Cities a Proving Ground for the Nation*) have looked upon local government in Tennessee from the academic as well as the political point of view. At present Dr. Greene is not only associate professor of political science at the university but also principal supervisor of training in public administration for the Authority. Both he and Mr. Abbott formerly served on the staff of the social and economic division of the TVA. Mr. Abbott is, just now, consultant on Public Administration Projects, Professional and Service Division of the WPA at Washington, D. C. In the past, however, he was with the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences at the University of Tennessee, as well as the TVA.

AN EXPERT on all things governmental in Maine, **Orren C. Hormell** (*Maine a Pioneer in Town Management*) is a Hoosier by birth and up through the M.A. his education was also Hoosier. Then he moved to New England for his doctorate (Harvard) and became associated in various political science capacities with a series of eastern universities. He has been a professor at Bowdoin College in Maine since 1911 and is director of its Bureau of Research in Municipal Government. Dr. Hormell is famed for his writings on innumerable aspects of Maine town government and government in general.

FORMERLY of the Evansville (Indiana) public school system, **Joe Park** (*That Elusive Majority*) now is a graduate student and teaching fellow at the University

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Better Democracy!

Policy for Americans

By E. J. MEEMAN
Editor, Memphis Press Scimitar

America was profoundly affected by the French Revolution with its teachings of liberty, equality, and fraternity, its destruction of ancient feudalism. The effect was a deepening and broadening of our democracy under Jefferson.

We shall be affected also by the totalitarian revolution which has overrun Europe, and is hammering at the gates of England. What shall this effect be?

Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler say that democracy is old and rotten, doomed to pass. They say freedom such as Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France enjoyed is weakness, doomed to be overcome by nations under dictators.

There are those in this country—fortunately only a few—who say that maybe the dictators are right, and that America should become a dictatorship.

What treason is this! That Americans should for a moment listen to the words of gangsters and murderers. That Americans should assent to the slandering of our institutions by lying foreigners who hate us!

No, we shall not return to the despotism and tyranny which our ancestors came to this country to escape. We shall not give up the liberty which we have enjoyed and under which we have prospered for the centuries since the English Colonies were established on these shores.

More Democracy the Need

Yet what thoughtful citizen today does not recognize that in the face of pressure from totalitarian states without, we must make changes to make our country stronger?

"The remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy."

Our need is not to get rid of democracy, but of those things which keep democracy from functioning efficiently.

"Politics," in the bad sense in which we usually use it, is not democracy. We do not need the politics which distorts and exploits issues for the selfish advantage of parties or men. We do not need the politics that makes public jobs the reward of the political hacks rather than the persons competent to fill them.

That you can have democracy, and a better democracy, by getting rid of politics and political machines has been proved by the 500 cities which have adopted nonpolitical city manager government in the United States. The government is centralized in the hands of one man, the city manager. That makes for efficiency, for the people know where to place responsibility. But that man is under the control of a council elected by a free people, so there is no dictatorship.

Waste, confusion, division, delay, bickering—these are not essential to democracy; they hinder it. What is essential to democracy?

Uncover Corruption

Essential to democracy above all is LIGHT—the light of free speech, free assembly and free press.

Is it not obvious that without this light, waste, corruption, and injustice can

be covered up, and that there will be more waste, corruption, and injustice?

Is it not obvious that a nation can move faster in the light than in the dark?

Yet there are those who would turn out the light "to get action." What kind of action?

Those who contemplate murder and robbery prefer darkness!

After all the facts have been brought out, after all views of the question have been given, there must be prompt decision, and decisions must be followed by prompt action. But who shall say that it takes longer for the people to consult with each other about their national policies than it takes a dictator to commune with himself?

It is not true that despots and dictators can arrive at wiser decisions or act more decisively than the responsible heads of democracies.

We need not less liberty, but a more responsible liberty. We need not less democracy, but better control by the people of their own destiny.

We shall not go back to the tyranny our forefathers kicked out in 1776.

We shall go forward to a more secure liberty.

From *New York World-Telegram*

TENNESSEE CITIES A PROVING GROUND

(Continued from Page 671)

should be extended in the near future. During the 1939 session of the legislature, five statutes were enacted dealing with city-county functional and with intercounty territorial and functional consolidation.[10]

As the status of municipal administration in Tennessee is surveyed, it becomes increasingly evident that additional aid, guidance, and control by state administrative agencies is urgently needed. So far Tennessee is singularly lacking in this type of activity, especially in certain fields. The state requires no financial reports or statistics, although the recent appointment of a director for the state division of local finance possibly forecasts some progress along these lines. The record of educational supervision is better. The state offers assistance in the fields of health and planning. Provision for state substitute administration is confined to health. No aid appears to be given with respect to personnel administration, even in fields, such as retirement management, where aid seems particularly essential, although state law permits some assistance.

There exists in Tennessee a strong feeling for local independence. Up to the present time a lively need for a state league of municipalities has not existed, but at the moment an apparently strong momentum has developed for the establishment of an effective organization.

The relation of Tennessee cities to the national government is such that, in certain fields, the area may become a proving ground for the nation. Abundant instances of the effect of national agencies in stimulating local administrative progress can be found. The real test of this connection lies in the future and the permanence or impermanence of the changes made.

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[10] See National Municipal Review, April 1939, p. 312; *Public Management*, July 1939, pp. 213, 214.

The Researcher's Digest: October

Governmental research in action; GRA tells citizens what a research bureau can do for them; research bureau-WPA ordinance codification in Arkansas; Newark's school population decreasing; Governmental Institute in state of Washington.

WITH Governmental Research in Action as the central theme, the **Governmental Research Association** held its annual meeting at Princeton, New Jersey, September 4-7, 1940. In attendance were about 150 staff members of research bureaus, taxpayers associations, other citizens organizations, governmental agencies, and universities.

Because of the reorganization of the GRA which has been taking place for the last year, the conference was planned to aid in the process of orientation. Each of the four days of the conference was devoted to a major topic related to this general purpose.

From "A" to "Z"

A cross-section of governmental research was provided by the first day's meetings, which revealed the broad scope of problems in which citizen-supported research agencies are interested —running from airports to zoning, and including such matters as budgetary procedure, accounting, civil service, sewage treatment, building code revision, traffic, parking, and welfare. A variety of techniques for meeting such problems was disclosed by brief reports in an opening roll call session, a meeting devoted to more detailed case studies in governmental research, and a third group of reports by junior staff members.

The similarities and differences of taxpayers organizations and citizens research agencies provided the focal point of the second day's discussions, which indicated that the differences were in name rather than in substance.

An attempt to "reform the reforms" occupied a third day of the conference, which was devoted to possible improvements in civil service and budgeting, and an analysis of proposed reforms in the real property tax.

Present personnel and budgetary practices were charged with a number of shortcomings and weaknesses, particularly on the ground that they do not contribute as effectively as they might to better government in the interest of the citizens as a whole. In reply, reasons were advanced for continuing some of the indicted practices, and evidence was submitted of improvements in some jurisdictions which might meet the criticisms.

Means by which various programs of the federal government might be utilized more effectively by citizens agencies and by state and local governments were suggested in another meeting. In particular, the potentialities of WPA as an aid to research, the services of the U. S. Census Bureau, and the opportunity for public service training under the George-Deen act were explored.

Strengthen Democracy

Crystallizing a sentiment that seemed to run through the conference, DeWitt C. Poole, formerly of the U. S. State Department, and more recently director of the School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University, provided a high light of the conference with an address on "The Need for Strengthening Democratic Government." Stressing the urgent need for making citizens acutely aware of governmental problems and of aiding them in a more active, intelligent participation in the

governmental process, Mr. Poole presented the outlines of a program which he felt would help accomplish this end.

In his address as retiring chairman of the GRA Executive Committee, Dean William E. Mosher of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, similarly urged that Americans should develop an intense loyalty for their democratic government. He proposed that the GRA should develop an aggressive program which would help improve public administration, and aid citizens in appraising and directing their governmental units.

Succeeding Dean Mosher as chairman of the Executive Committee will be Philip Cornick of the Institute of Public Administration, New York City. New members of the committee include Charlton F. Chute, director of the Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis; J. M. Leonard, research director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; and W. Earl Weller, director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research. Two other members of the committee whose terms continue until next year are William C. Beyer, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, and Norman MacDonald, director of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations.

GRA awards for 1939-1940 were presented at the meeting. Judged "the most noteworthy piece of research," a report on *Police and Fire Pension Systems of the City of Schenectady, New York,* won an award for E. E. Mariner and Edward C. Stone of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research. An award for "the most effective presentation of research studies" was made to the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, H. C. Loeffler, secretary.

LAURENCE MICHELMORE
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

Cities Need Research

To the recurrent question, "Why a local governmental research bureau?" the **Governmental Research Association** brings a new, straight-from-headquarters reply in *Citizens in the Dark—Cities in the Red,* a seventeen-page publication.

Any bewildered citizen could profit from the succinct, intelligent explanation of the need for citizen research as expounded by Sherman S. Sheppard in the first half of this pamphlet. The address of the executive secretary of the Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans at the 1939 annual meeting of the Tampa Chamber of Commerce, as reproduced here, traces the natural history of the American city, summarizes the troubles that beset our cities in recent years, lists the six great problems that must be faced by government and citizen alike, and shows in simple language how the research bureau can help solve such problems.

Particularly pointed is Mr. Sheppard's analysis of those chief six problems: economic insecurity and public relief, planning the unplanned city, the struggle against crime, education, public personnel, and paying the cost. And a backstage fanfare would not be an extravagant accompaniment for his restrained, simple explanation of what the research bureau can do for citizen and government in this trying situation.

The rest of the pamphlet lists some of the representative governmental research agencies and the dates of their establishment, notes some of the research bureau publications which have listed bureau accomplishments in the past, and quotes a dozen agencies' own statements on their aims. Finally, there is reproduced a letter from the secretary of the Governmental Research Association which gives some practical advice on the financial support necessary to establish a research bureau in cities of various sizes. According to Lent

Upson: "The absolute minimum for a city, however small, would be a director, a stenographer, office, and facilities for publicity." With a junior staff member as well, the yearly minimum budget for such an agency comes to $10,000, he estimates.

Per capita computation is also a convenient method of determining the cost of running a bureau, advises Dr. Upson: "For cities of 50,000 population probably there should be a budget of twenty-five cents per capita or $12,500. For cities of over one million population an adequate program could be financed at five cents per capita or $50,000 or more." And he sadly adds: "Few bureaus have this amount, but always their programs must be held to only the most pressing problems."

To add point to this remark, Dr. Upson presents figures on the average actual budgets for bureaus in cities of various sizes. The average budget for a bureau in a city over one million in population (on the basis of actual budgets in three cities) is $31,500; an average for cities of 500,000 to 1,000,000 is, on the basis of the budgets of five bureaus, $20,500; in nine cities between 100,000 and 500,000, the average budget is $14,000; two cities under 100,000 have an average budget of $8,500.

Legal Humor

In Arkansas the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Arkansas** and the **Arkansas Municipal League** are sponsoring WPA Project No. 6447-9. What the project is trying to do is explained to the mayors of Arkansas with considerable humor in a mimeographed pamphlet soberly titled *Codification and Indexing of City Ordinances.*

Since February 1940 WPA workers have been engaged in indexing and codifying the ordinances of Arkansas cities and towns. "Already the staff is working on the ordinances of eight cities. Contracts have been completed with six additional municipalities to codify their laws. Nine other cities are now in the process of making arrangements to contract for the codification of their ordinances."

Apparently, this pamphlet is intended as a method of making the rest of the busy mayors of the state sit up and take notice, for it is piquantly illustrated by drawings of Mr. Mayor (complete with clip-on spectacles, black shirt, and black pocket handkerchief) in the process of wondering about the project and of finding out. And to give point to the need for the codification job, the authors list choice samples of obsolete laws which they found in their excavations into local law. To quote a few:

> Yes sir, one town had an ordinance which required that "all sidewalks on Front Street shall be built eight and one half feet high and ten feet wide."
>
> Here is an 1875 speed law. "Any person who shall furiously or unnecessarily ride, drive, or run any horse or other animal on any street or alley of this town, or who shall cause same to be done at a gait or pace greater than six miles per hour, or aid in so doing, shall be fined in any sum not less than one nor more than twenty-five dollars for each such offense."
>
> In another city, the following was found in one of the ordinance books: "Any person using the town pump to wash any buggy, hack, wagon, or other vehicle will be charged a fee of twenty-five cents."

The illustrations provided by the WPA are similarly choice.

Statistics on Schools

Because the number of children in school determines so many vital questions of school finance, construction, administration, and personnel, the **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research** made a statistical study of past ex-

perience with grade enrollment and yearly births in order to find out what Newark is to expect in the way of school enrollment during the next six or seven years.

Some significant findings of the bureau, as presented in *Notes on Newark*, (No. 4):

> Decreased numbers entering the schools have progressed as a steady wave, year by year, to higher grades.
>
> Elementary enrollment continues to decrease . . . appears to be reaching its bottom, will level out in the next three to four years.
>
> Intermediate enrollment reached its peak two years ago . . . has started declining . . . will drop more in the next five years, and continue to decline thereafter.
>
> The peak of increasingly larger waves entering high school is past. . . . The drop should be particularly rapid in two more years.
>
> Total school population five years ago of 75,000 . . . can be expected to drop to 62,000 in the next five years.

"Wise planning," advocates the bureau, "would indicate adjustment of policy to these facts."

West Coast Conference

Law enforcement and traffic control and safety, personnel administration, public library administration, planning, school finance, public health and taxation were the discussion topics which drew over seven hundred officials, civic leaders, and professional men and women to the annual Institute of Government sponsored by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** in July on the university campus. A report in the August, 1940, issue of *Western City* covers the highlights of the three-day conference.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budgets

Budget Improvements in Boston. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, August 9, 1940. 4 pp.

Codification of Ordinances

Codification and Indexing of City Ordinances. Little Rock, University of Arkansas Bureau of Municipal Research and Arkansas Municipal League, 1940. 4 pp. mimeo.

Cost of Government

Cost Comparison of Police Departments in Six Representative Cities, State Tax Collections, Per Capita Cost of Various Departments of County Government Refigured on Basis of 1940 Census, Governmental Expenditures for 1939-40. Oklahoma City Research Institute, Inc., July 29, 1940. 4 pp. mimeo.

Gasoline Tax

Gasoline and Liquid Fuel Tax Collections in Ohio. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, August 26, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Governmental Research

Citizens in the Dark—Cities in the Red. Detroit, Governmental Research Association, August 1940. 17 pp. mimeo.

Schools

About an Ebb Tide. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Notes on Newark*, June 1940. 3 pp.

News in Review

(Continued from Page 639)

the referendum will have to wait until 1942, to which year **Springfield** has postponed its proposed Plan E referendum. A petition of the Lynn, Massachusetts, Taxpayers' Association for a writ of mandamus to compel the **Lynn** election commission to certify Plan E petitions previously declared invalid because of faulty signatures was denied by the Superior Court on September 11. The association's attorney contended that the law did not require signatures to be identical with the voters' names as they appeared on the polling lists, but was overruled. An appeal was filed with the state ballot law commission. The *Lynn Item,* commenting on the obvious and vigorous opposition of the incumbent city government, said that the sponsors of Plan E had already "made those in office sit up and not only take notice, but act more in accordance with the needs of the times."

The board of supervisors of **Onondaga County, New York**, has voted twenty-nine to three to submit a county manager proposal to popular vote at the November election.

In **Ayden, North Carolina,** a manager plan ordinance is in process of preparation.

In **Newport, Rhode Island**, Rear Admiral H. E. Yarnell is heading a campaign for the manager plan.

In **Marianna, Florida,** which is operating under a new charter which permits the city commission of five (four elected by wards and one at large) to employ a city manager if it so desires, the *Times* is urging commission candidates to declare their stand and mentions advantages of the manager plan.

A first step in a proposed consolidation of **Weirton, Hollidays Cove, Marland Heights,** and **Weirton Heights,** failed on October 1, when Weirton defeated a proposal for consolidation with Hollidays Cove, although the latter voted in favor of the merger. The Greater Weirton Association has recently issued a pamphlet on the subject, which also proposes the city manager form of government for the consolidated community.

An informal group of citizens in **University Heights, Ohio,** is working for the manager plan.

In **Little Rock, Arkansas,** circulators of a petition, asking for a preliminary vote on the manager plan, have obtained more than sufficient signatures to place the matter on the ballot.

A charter providing the council-manager plan for **Durant, Oklahoma,** was submitted to the voters on October 8.

In **Salem, Oregon,** recommendations of the council's city government revision committee as to amendments to provide the manager plan will be submitted to the voters on November 5. The proposal provides for election of seven aldermen by wards and of a mayor who, however, would have no executive duties inasmuch as the council would appoint a manager for those functions. The present fourteen-member council would hold over for two years.

Bayonne, New Jersey, will vote October 15 on a manager charter.

In **Santa Monica, California,** petitions have been circulated calling for a special election on a proposed manager charter which provides for a council of seven elected from districts; they are to choose one of their number as mayor, and to appoint a city manager.

In **Columbus, Ohio,** a committee of five, headed by W. E. Byers, was chosen September 13 at a meeting of the City Manager League to undertake the task of forming a permanent organization to bring about a referendum

on a city manager charter amendment at the November 1941 election.

The city commission of **Traverse City, Michigan,** on September 16 voted unanimously to re-submit in November of this year the manager charter which failed of adoption by a small margin a year ago. A petition of more than three hundred names requested this action.

Council Disapproves Kansas City Amendments

The city council of Kansas City, Missouri, on September 3 decided against submitting to the voters at the November election thirteen proposed charter amendments that had been endorsed by the Civic Research Institute, the Chamber of Commerce and—as to those dealing with personnel—by the League of Women Voters. The amendments had been under consideration by the council for the preceding month. They included a prohibition of political activity by city employees in the classified service; the requirement for certification of the highest ranking candidates from eligible lists when a vacancy is to be filled, instead of the entire list; creation of a review board to grant public hearings to discharged employees; the requirements of annual city audits by independent auditors; and various bond provisions—serial bonds, twenty-year maximum, public sale, etc.

New Rochelle to Vote on Nonpartisan Elections

Voters of the city of New Rochelle, New York, will have the opportunity of restoring nonpartisan elections, which had been superseded by party elections, on a 3-to-2 vote of the city council. A public hearing was conducted on August 29, at which twenty-four speakers favored a referendum this November on a charter amendment providing nonpartisan elections, and only three opposed it—declaring that the importance of the national election transcended any local issue. The council on the same evening ordered that the referendum be held on November 5.

Large Cities Grow More Slowly

Preliminary figures of the Bureau of the Census for cities of 100,000 population or over show ninety-two in that group, with a population of 37,837,296, an increase of 1,642,125 or 4.5 per cent over the same cities in 1930, and an increase of 1,511,560 or 4.2 per cent over the ninety-three cities which in 1930 had 100,000 or more. These latter ninety-three cities had increased 23.5 per cent in population in the decade from 1920 to 1930. Twenty-nine of the ninety-two cities of 100,000 or more in 1940 lost population between 1930 and 1940; only four of these twenty-nine lost between 1920 and 1930.

Jersey City to Have Voting Machines

The New Jersey legislature on September 24 repassed over Governor Moore's veto two measures designed to reform election processes, particularly in Hudson County wherein Jersey City is situated. One law requires that voting machines shall be installed in Hudson County with the State House Commission (Republican - controlled) having the right to purchase the machines and write the cost against future state subsidies to the county. The other measure allows the superintendent of elections (a Republican) to call upon state troopers to enforce election laws on election day.

Three other bills were passed by the legislature and vetoed by the Governor, but further action by the legis-

lature was deferred. Two provided for creation of special district criminal courts with jurisdiction over election law violations; in Hudson and Essex Counties (the latter including Newark) the third would class violators of the voting act as disorderly persons and thus provide for their trial in lower criminal courts instead of by common pleas courts on misdemeanor charges.

In vetoing the bills Governor Moore said that he objected to the cost of the voting machines, that home rule was violated, that the greatest bar to clean elections in New Jersey is the permanent registration law, and that voting is permitted in southern counties of the state without any safeguards at all.

Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City is reported as declaring that the use of voting machines in Hudson County will so confuse the voters as to cut the Democratic vote by 40,000. He has threatened reprisals against leading opponents who have sponsored efforts to install voting machines in Hudson County despite obstacles and delay.

Granite City-Nameoki Merger Fails

The effort to unite the Illinois municipalities of Granite City (23,000 population) and Nameoki (2,700) was defeated on September 10 when the two communities voted on the proposition of a merger. Granite City voted in favor, but its smaller neighbor refused. As approval by both was necessary the attempted merger failed.

Chicago Suburbs Cooperate for Municipal Services

Certain municipal activities of Winnetka and other northern suburbs of Chicago, Illinois, are being rendered better and at less cost than would otherwise be possible through a pooling of resources, the International City Managers' Association reports. The cooperative plan, which at present includes such services as fire protection, refuse disposal, milk inspection, purchasing, and radio, has been effected by contract, informal agreement, the joint use of personnel, or the establishment of special agencies. From two to seven of the suburbs are included in the various arrangements.

Winnetka, for example, handles fire protection for Kenilworth on contract, and under another contract uses the incinerator built and operated by Glencoe. Most important of the informal arrangements is the coördinated buying agreement between Winnetka and other public and semi-public bodies in the vicinity. An example of the hiring of joint personnel is the Winnetka public health officer, who is in charge of the township, the village of Kenilworth, and the Winnetka and Kenilworth schools. Police radio is coordinated by having Glencoe, Highland Park, Kenilworth, and Winnetka operate their radio transmitters on the same frequency.

Recent News from New Hampshire

Towns Lose Representation. Representation in the lower chamber of New Hampshire's General Court is allocated to each town or city on the basis of population. A town must have a population of 600 in order to be entitled to one representative, extra representation being given for each 1,800 in excess. Fifty-four towns will be denied representation in the legislature in January as the result of the 1940 census. Towns under 600 will be granted occasional representation, dependent on size, which means that some will hold seats intermittently during the next decade, although some may not have the privilege at all before 1950.

Summer Residents Urge Zoning. The summer residents have gathered to voice their resentment to local governmental expenditure and the lack of zoning. An association of summer taxpayers was formed recently at Newbury. They insist they should have better protection and better roads and resent having unsightly buildings constructed near their property. The New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations recommends that the "paying guests" be taken into confidence.

Non-Governmental Aid for Municipal Improvements. It was recently discovered that "Nugget," a moving-picture theatre in Hanover, was owned by the Hanover Improvement Association. Although this organization is not connected with the city government, from its proceeds in the past it has purchased several fire trucks, street equipment, ornamental street signs, and has built sidewalks. It has also developed a pond into a swimming pool and a park for winter sports. At Lebanon, a nearby town, a similar association shows motion pictures at a privately owned theatre and uses the proceeds for municipal improvements.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

States and Local Units Cooperate on Defense

The Division of State and Local Coöperation of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense is now organized with Frank Bane, formerly executive director of the Council of State Governments, as director, and Daniel W. Hoan as associate director—the latter appointment having become effective September 9. Mr. Hoan, Milwaukee's eminent ex-mayor, will be in direct charge of the local government phases of the division's work, in addition to assisting in general planning and administration.

The functions of the Division of State and Local Coöperation will include: acting as a channel of communication between the Council of National Defense and its advisory commission and the state councils, and through the state councils keeping in touch with local councils; keeping state and local councils informed on the national defense program as it develops; receiving reports from state defense councils on problems of coördination requiring federal attention, recommendations for necessary adjustments in programs, and suggestions on new activities and proffers of services or facilities; and acting as a clearing house of information between councils in the various states on matters of council organization, administration, and activity.

Uniform State Laws Now Number Six Hundred

Approximately six hundred acts designed to reduce conflicts in legislation are on the statute books of the forty-eight states as a result of half a century of activity by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, according to a recent survey. The conference, which is an official body created by state statutes, drafts model bills, checks them with state and national bar associations, and finally attempts to secure their introduction into state legislatures.

The uniform laws relate to about fifty subjects. Every law has been adopted by at least one state, while some of the laws have been enacted by thirty or more—one outstanding example, the uniform negotiable instruments act, being in force in all states and in some South American countries. Many of the laws are for the purpose of facilitating business and trade, in current times frequently hampered by statutory differences from one state to

another. Others pertain to social questions.

Other uniform laws that have been widely adopted include the warehouse receipts act, which makes warehouse receipts generally acceptable in business transactions, by forty-five states, and the sales act, which concerns the transfer of title to personal property, by thirty-two states.

Fifty-three model acts are currently being recommended to state legislatures, forty-three of which meet in regular session in 1941.

The conference has just announced a new coöperative relationship with the Council of State Governments, to further uniformity of state legislation. The council, as a joint governmental agency concerned with reducing interstate frictions, will aid in the preparation and distribution of the uniform bills.

United States and Canadian Mayors Meet

The United States Conference of Mayors held its annual meeting in New York City September 19-21, with an attendance of about two hundred, including eight Canadian mayors outstanding among whom was Mayor Stanley Lewis of Ottawa, president of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., of Detroit emphasized that municipal government is the keystone of democracy and that it must be kept at a high level, and a message from President Roosevelt said, "The responsibility of building a defense for the protection of our democracy is the joint responsibility of all our governments—federal, state, and local."

Mayor F. H. LaGuardia of New York City was elected president of the conference for the fourth consecutive year.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

This month the REVIEW launches a new column by staff member Ruth M. Williams who comes by this sort of thing naturally. Her father is an active editor and her mother is a former newspaper woman.

Miss Williams will scan the field each month for brief items which can be tossed into a "Roundup"—the name of her column—of citizens in action.

More detailed stories of citizen projects will continue to appear, as always, in this section. This is an invitation to contribute to either the column or the section.—EDITOR.

Roundup—

As election time rolls around a number of citizens' organizations are issuing reports on candidates for office. . . . The **Detroit Citizens League** devotes *The Civic Searchlight* for September to an analysis of all candidates for nomination for public offices in the Michigan primaries. At the local level the league includes an evaluation of the candidates indicating those who are deemed by its committee to be "preferred" or "qualified." . . . The **Oakland County (Michigan) Citizens League** has included similar material in its September *Bulletin*, with recommendations based on a questionnaire sent to all candidates. . . . The **Municipal League of Seattle** has also issued a report on primary candidates for that city and King County, with "personal data," "experience in business and public office," and "comments" about each.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries, following its usual custom, will hold its annual meeting this year in conjunction with the National Conference on Government in Springfield,

Massachusetts, November 18, 19, and 20.

Massachusetts citizens in at least five cities have decided this year not only that "something ought to be done" to improve local government, but that they are the ones to do it. . . . In Cambridge and Chicopee the citizens' organizations which led manager campaigns in 1938 have been revived to carry on this year's efforts for the manager plan and proportional representation (Plan E). . . . A new **Citizens' Charter Committee** has been organized in Haverhill for a referendum on the manager plan (Plan D). It is sponsoring an essay contest on the manager plan for high school juniors and seniors. . . . In North Adams the campaign is in the hands of a nonpartisan Plan E committee. . . . And in Quincy plans are going forward for organization of an educational campaign on Plan E. . . . In the neighboring state of New Hampshire, the staff of the **State Federation of Taxpayers Associations** is at work drafting enabling legislation, to be submitted to the legislature in January, to give cities a choice between a strong mayor plan and a council-manager plan.

The September 14 *Bulletin* of the **Committee of 100 of Yonkers** is devoted to news of the organization and the city administration. . . . Items cover the committee's support of a city "Hatch bill," an announcement of the questionnaire being sent to candidates for state office, a discussion of the proper attitude to be taken by the city toward absences of city employees.

Under the sponsorship of the **North Carolina Institute of Government** the second annual American Legion Boys' State was held in Chapel Hill the last week in August. . . . Albert Coates, director of the institute, served as director of the Boys' State which was attended by over 125 high school leaders. . . . The idea of the Boys' State originated in Illinois in 1935 and has been used successfully in many other states. . . . Through actual participation in governmental functions, an effort is made to give the boys an idea of the duties, rights, and privileges of citizenship.

In an increasing number of cities, citizens are being afforded opportunities to learn about their local governments by radio. . . . New York, Camden, New Jersey, St. Petersburg and Jacksonville, Florida, and Dallas, Texas, have their own stations, and at least forty others use the regular commercial broadcasting stations. . . . City officials usually have been responsible for inaugurating the programs, but in a number of communities local citizen organizations or the station itself have taken the initiative.

The public forum idea which has been so successful in a number of communities (see Citizen Action section, July 1940 REVIEW) seems to have worked particularly well in Talladega, Alabama. . . . A permanent **Town Forum Council** composed of presidents and secretaries of all existing civic, service, and religious organizations and eighteen citizens at large has been established to direct the program which consists of committee work, small neighborhood discussion groups and larger town hall gatherings. . . . A number of social and civic improvements are credited to the organization's activities.

Taxpayers groups continue to be active in every governmental sphere. . . . The August issue of the *Research Bulletin* of the **Fort Wayne (Indiana) Taxpayers Research Association** is devoted to a discussion of the expected decrease of 3½ cents in the tax rate for Fort Wayne citizens. . . . In summary form the proposed rate for each of the six taxing units (state, county, township, civil city, school city, and library) is compared with the existing

rate. And there is also a comparison of the cost of Fort Wayne's government with that of other Indiana cities of 100,000, based on the United States Bureau of the Census report, *Financial Statistics of Cities*. . . . The *Indiana Tax Digest*, from the **South Bend Taxpayers' Federation**, prints in a recent issue a detailed outline of how a tax rate is computed and suggestions as to how citizens may investigate and analyze any tax rate.

The **Connecticut Merit System Association** announces that over 125 men from twenty-four states have applied for the position of field secretary of the association. . . . The candidates will be given a competitive examination and an eligible list will be established. . . . The association is considering making this list available to other citizens' organizations in the country seeking to fill similar positions.

The **Seattle Traffic and Safety Council** has launched a county-wide drive for safety education to combat a mounting list of traffic fatalities. . . . This follows the highly successful "100 Deathless Days Campaign" instituted last year.

RUTH M. WILLIAMS

Washington Civic Groups Cooperate to Educate

An estimated radio audience of 250,000 people in the state of Washington will hear a public discussion in "town hall" style on six proposals, to be voted upon at the November general election, in a program sponsored jointly by the **Municipal League of Seattle** and **Kiwanis, Rotary** and **Lions** service organizations on October 11.

Approximately 1,500 members of the service groups will gather in a Seattle high school auditorium that evening to hear a discussion of the proposals by Municipal League "town criers." Leading proponents and opponents of each measure seated on the platform will answer questions from the audience. The program will be broadcast over a state-wide radio network by stations KJR in Seattle and KGA in Spokane.

"Town Criers"

The Municipal League's town criers were organized several months ago to analyze the six proposals to appear on the ballot and to discuss them before community and service organizations in a series of educational programs during

Model Job

A citizen committee of **Attleboro, Massachusetts,** has done about as fine a lay job of analyzing city government as we've seen recently.

In ten mimeographed pages the committee presents a dispassionate analysis of the city's present mayor-council charter (granted in 1914), recommends specific improvements if the citizens prefer to keep that form, and advocates the council-manager plan as a more far-reaching remedy.

The report is now ready for public discussion on the merit of proposals it contains. The committee specifically states that "nothing contained in this report should be construed as a personal reflection on any individual in the city." And the tone of the report reflects that attitude.

The committee grew out of widespread comment that few in the city knew what was in the charter and that new consideration should be given to the type of government the city needs. Attorney Royal P. Baker headed the committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce to prepare the report.

September and October. The league's speakers neither support nor oppose any of the proposals, but give an analysis of what each involves, what organizations and interests are supporting them, and who is opposed to them. Town criers will appear before as many organizations as can be booked between now and election day.

People of the state will vote on the following proposals: Initiative 139, a measure providing that public utility district bond issues must be approved by a majority vote in an election at which 50 per cent of the people voting in the last previous general election take part; Initiative 141, an old-age pension measure providing $40 for persons over sixty-five with certain limitations of income; Referendum No. 5, re-enacting the state's forty-mill limitation on property taxes; and three proposals placed on the ballot by the state legislature providing the removal of a two-term limitation on county officials, relieving stockholders of state banks from double liability, and enabling the legislature or the people by initiative to raise the salaries of state legislators.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

Madison Citizens Advise Officials

Mayor James R. Law of Madison, Wisconsin, has called upon the citizens of this city to take a greater interest in their municipal government, and to serve as advisors to the city administration by participation in a newly organized **Civic Council.**

Representatives of many organizations interested in city affairs make up the council's membership.

The first meeting, in September, was devoted to organization and the appointment of committees. Under the present plan, the Civic Council will meet once each month to discuss some problem of vital civic interest.

Four committees have been appointed: a committee on committees, program committee, publicity committee, and membership committee. The duty of the program committee is to set the dates for all meetings, determine the subject to be presented, arrange for speakers and other participants in the program. The publicity committee is charged not only with the duty of acquainting Madison citizens with the work of the Civic Council, but to act as a spearhead of information between the council and the various city groups which its members represent.

Mayor Asks Action

Mayor Law insists that the Civic Council be a militant body, not a mere debating society, and that after a question has been thoroughly studied and discussed, the Civic Council make definite constructive recommendations to the city council and city administration.

The topic for debate at the October meeting will be the belt line highway, a particularly moot question in Madison at the present time which involves a proposal to route through traffic around the city by means of a proposed system of belt highways.

A future meeting of the council will debate the Segoe plan and zoning ordinance, a plan which represents the recommendations of city planning engineers engaged by the city some time ago. Other topics to be discussed include increases in the number of liquor licenses, boating and bathing facilities and lake treatment, parking meters, the city budget, snow and ice removal, delinquent tax land, and relief.

Credit for initiating the plan goes largely to Mayor Law, who last August 7 sent a letter to prominent citizens asking their opinion of the plan and whether they would be willing to par-

ticipate. The response was so enthusiastic that the council was quickly organized.

City-Wide Membership

A review of representatives which attended the first meeting shows the following organizations officially represented:

Service Clubs: Rotary, Kiwanis, Optimists, American Business Club, Gyro, Rounders, and Lions.

Women's Clubs: Madison Women's Club, Catholic Women's Club, League of Women Voters, Business and Professional Women's Club, Civics Club, Parent-Teachers Association, Housemothers' Association (university rooming houses).

Business Clubs: Madison Business Association, Madison and Wisconsin Foundation (Chamber of Commerce), East Side Business Men's Association, Apartment House Owners Association, Real Estate Board, and Insurance Board.

Labor Groups: Building Trades Council, Federation of Labor.

Miscellaneous Groups: Young Men's Division of the Madison and Wisconsin Foundation, Technical Club, Community Union, Italian-American Civic League, and the Veterans' Council.

There are about 210 organizations in Madison which should be interested in the plan, and the council membership committee is working to this end. Mayor Law and leaders of the council are particularly anxious that small home owners be represented. It is hoped that by this method of representation all Madison citizens, through organizations of which they are members, will be represented on the council and thus have an active and direct voice in municipal affairs.

C. K. Alexander, *Editor*
The Wisconsin Taxpayer
Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance

County and Township
Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

North Dakota Plans County Reform

Manager charter to be one of optional forms presented to legislature next year

As previously reported in the Review[1] the citizens of North Dakota have achieved the opportunity of modernizing their county and township governments. The constitutional amendment approved by popular referendum last June imposes a mandate upon the state legislature to prepare optional forms of county government of which at least one must provide for a county manager. The state legislature is expected to take action on the matter when it meets early next year for the regular sixty-day biennial session.

The North Dakota Taxpayers Association is urging that, in view of the pressure on the time of the state legislature, citizen groups should begin immediately to study county governmental structure, consider possible improvements, and prepare proposals for legislative consideration. The following are some of the problems that the association suggests should be studied by such groups:

1. The county commissioners were created originally as a legislative body, but after some years of successful operation, they began to encroach on administrative functions such as inspection of roads and the administration of relief. Should not their duties be narrowed to adoption of the budget, making the annual levy, auditing the bills against the county, and similar functions?

2. The constitutional amendment states

[1]See August 1940, p. 559.

:hat at least one plan must provide for :he manager form. Perhaps there should ɔe several optional manager forms, or perhaps this feature could be segregated and made applicable to all forms of county government.

3. The possibility of consolidating the offices of auditor and treasurer should be considered since at present much work is duplicated in the two offices.

4. There is at present no adequate audit. The county commissioners are charged with auditing the books of the various county offices, but they are untrained and have too little time to perform this task satisfactorily. The state examiner's annual examination is restricted primarily to securing a balance in the accounts. The solution appears to lie in the appointment of an independent private auditor.

5. At present county budgets are drafted in a haphazard fashion and then largely disregarded when making actual appropriations. A good budget law is sorely needed.

6. A number of county offices that are not policy-forming in nature should probably be shifted from their independent elective status to appointment by the commissioners or manager. The reduction in the size of the ballot would make such ballot a more effective instrument in the hands of the voter, and better qualified clerical and administrative personnel could be secured by the appointive method. With the advent of the automobile and good highways, the elected county surveyor has become an anachronism and should be replaced by an appointive trained engineer. The register of deeds requires certain qualifications that cannot best be measured by the elective process. The office of clerk of the district court, instead of being elective, probably should follow the example of the federal courts where judges make the appointments.

7. Personnel problems should be studied further with a view to installing the merit system. An arrangement to permit interdepartmental loans of personnel to meet seasonal fluctuations is sorely needed.

8. Relief and welfare will constitute a major county problem, but the solution will depend on federal and state activity in this field. The trend toward centralization and the changed concepts regarding the proper extent of welfare activities would justify intensive study before determining the nature of county welfare organization.

9. Since some states permit the counties to draft their charters with subsequent legislative approval, this method should be studied as an alternative to charters drafted by the state legislature.

10. Methods of procedure regarding dissolution and consolidation of counties in accordance with the new constitutional provisions should be studied by such citizen groups.

11. The purchase of supplies, equipment, and machinery in many counties is woefully inefficient. Possible solutions lie in the creation of a purchasing commission or agent or in utilizing a state purchasing agency.

12. In view of the increasing popularity of proportional representation, this method of election should be studied as a possible alternative method of electing county legislators.

13. Because consolidation of counties does not appear to appeal to the people in many areas, coöperative activities in specific fields are more readily adopted. Probably, the counties of North Dakota should be empowered to enter into such coöperative agreements.

County Salaries in New York Found Too High

The Municipal Civil Service Commission of New York City has found that

the five counties within the city's limits pay proportionately much more than does the city for the same type and amount of work. According to the *Civil Service Bulletin,* published by the commission, a study of comparative salaries shows "the costly and wasteful nature of the county offices. Though generally operating under less pressure than the city offices, these political strongholds continue to pay their clerical staffs at a rate high above that of the city government as a whole. Such excess payment can only be accounted as a corollary to the political nature of these offices, now considered archaic by many and certainly exposed as excessively expensive. . . .

"The high average clerical salaries of the state and county courts and the county offices and other inequities represent favoritism that cannot help but provoke resentment and discontent among employees of equal responsibility and less pay elsewhere. The system encourages political bargaining by city employees for transfer or appointment to 'favored' departments. These conditions effectively menace the further development of a genuine career system in New York City."

Tennessee County Coördinates Relief Efforts

In Grundy County, Tennessee, a number of public and private organizations are embarking on a coöperative program, incidentally to reduce the amount of relief, but primarily to rehabilitate its recipients. The coöperative efforts of federal, state, local, and private agencies are being enlisted to solve the problem in this distressed county where 60 to 70 per cent of the population receive such aid. The program will be directed by a coordinating committee composed of the state director of farm extension service, the state commissioner of public welfare, and the state commissioner of conservation. The committee will hire a coordinator to assume immediate supervision over the program.

The extent of the relief problem results largely from the fact that the community has had to change its activities from mining to agriculture, although a study revealed that the problem was not wholly of local origin. The program will attack not only the usual problems of public welfare and health administration, but will consider also problems of financial management, levy of taxes, tax delinquency, agricultural programs, and the use and conservation of natural resources such as forests, wild life, grazing, minerals, and recreation resources. The committee will seek to coördinate existing health services such as school-feeding, clinical programs, and maternal and child health. It will seek to secure the coöperation of schools, NYA, WPA, employment offices, 4-H clubs, national defense units, and other agencies. It is hoped that the experiment will be of value to other counties in Tennessee in helping them to solve their problems of relief.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Government Bond Tax Killed in Senate

Amendment to excess profits tax bill meets strenuous opposition

By a vote of forty-four to thirty on September 19, the Senate killed an amendment to the excess profits tax bill providing for so-called reciprocal taxation by the federal and state governments of the income from government bonds. The amendment, an eleventh hour attempt of proponents of government bond taxation to revive the proposal voted down in committee

earlier in the year, was strenuously opposed by organizations of state and local governments and by members of the investment banking fraternity.

An interesting aspect of the proposal was that it would have exempted from the tax, in addition to outstanding obligations which are at present tax-exempt, obligations issued to refund such bonds when the term of the refunding bonds did not run beyond the term of the original obligation. Assuming taxation would increase local interest costs, this feature would have been of benefit to local units undertaking refunding operations to reduce interest costs; but it was held by opponents of the measure to penalize those governments which may find it necessary to refund maturing bonds. A very sizeable amount of refunding of this latter type is prospective over the next several years, typified by such cases as Kansas City, Missouri, water debt for which virtually no sinking funds have been accumulated, and several state road refunding programs which are still hanging fire. Opposition on this score, therefore, may have had considerable weight.

According to a survey made of the vote by the *Daily Bond Buyer*, rejection of the amendment was obviously on its merits, party and sectional lines being completely broken in the balloting.

Tax Revenue Sources Increase Greatly

Forty-two per cent of the revenues of all governmental units in 1939 were collected from taxes completely absent in the tax system of forty years ago, a recent analysis by the Federation of Tax Administrators shows. These taxes were on income, payrolls, motor fuel, motor vehicles, and gifts and inheritances.

A comparative analysis is shown below.

The tax system of the early 1900's was a relatively simple affair as compared with today's revenue structure. Property taxes accounted for little more than half the total revenues of that day, and met the major part of state and local government requirements. Today, the property tax makes up about a third of the total.

Sales and occupational taxes have contributed about the same proportion of revenue—11 per cent—throughout the forty-year period, but their contribution in recent years has been due to the enactment of such new levies as the sales tax and miscellaneous federal excises. Customs duties have dropped from second to last place among the major revenue sources.

The influence of the automobile on government finance is shown by the position which the road levies occupy for recent years. In 1939 motor vehicle

Percentage of Total Tax Revenues

Type of Tax	*1902*	*1912*	*1922*	*1932*	*1939*
Property	51.1	59.8	44.9	57.0	33.2
Sales and Occupational	11.3	8.1	11.1	7.7	11.2
Motor Fuel	a	a	0.2	6.2	7.1
Liquor	14.0	13.3	0.6	a	5.8
Tobacco	3.8	3.2	3.6	4.8	4.5
Death and Gift	a	a	2.8	2.4	3.5
Motor Vehicle	a	a	2.0	3.6	2.7
Customs	18.4	13.8	4.8	4.0	2.2
Payroll	a	a	a	a	10.8
Income	a	1.3	28.6	14.1	17.6
Miscellaneous	1.4	0.5	1.4	0.2	1.4

[a]Tax not levied.

and motor fuel collections accounted for 10 per cent of all tax revenue.

Data for the analysis were obtained from the annual reports of the United States Secretary of the Treasury and from the decennial publications of the Census Bureau on state and local finance.

Tax Liens Come First Says Pennsylvania Court

A recent decision by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, in *City of Erie* v. *A Certain Piece of Land,* has given an unexpected stimulant to tax collections in Pennsylvania. The court has ruled that general tax liens have a priority over all other property liens regardless of when they became effective. Specifically the court determined, says *Citizens' Business* (organ of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research) "that under the provisions of the second paragraph of section 31 of the act of May 16, 1923, P.L. 207, real estate can be sold for unpaid taxes at a sheriff's sale free and clear of all mortgages and other liens on the property, even though such mortgages and liens were prior to the lien of the taxes or were prior to the date of the 1923 act. . .

"The real significance of the court's decision, so far as concerns the collection of delinquent taxes, is this—holders of mortgages, ground rents (some at least), and other liens on real estate can no longer sit back and let taxes pile up, counting upon their liens being secure and immovable; upon taking over the property or paying the taxes when it suits them to do so; and, perhaps, upon ultimately securing an abatement of the penalties and interest on the taxes, or even an abatement, or compromise, of the taxes themselves. Now these holders face the alternative of paying the delinquent taxes rather promptly, or losing their liens on the property. Furthermore, since the mortgages and other liens can no longer stand between the property and the city's taxes, the city will take earlier steps than before to enforce payment of delinquent taxes. . .

"Not only will the Supreme Court's decision speed up collections of delinquent taxes, but it apparently takes the props from under a number of plans being made for compromising overdue taxes under the act of June 26, 1939, P.L. 1100. That act was drawn under the view that prior mortgage liens could not be divested by tax sales, and that, therefore, taxes could not be collected in excess of the equity over such liens. It now appears that any compromise of taxes must be based upon the full value of the delinquent real estate, rather than upon an equity over outstanding bonds or mortgages. Bondholders and mortgage holders must pay the taxes or lose their liens, and therefore their interest in the property, unless they directly or indirectly buy it in."

Assessors' Qualifications Surveyed

Citizenship, a minimum age of twenty-one, residence, literacy, sanity, and freedom from conviction for a felony—the usual legal qualifications for voting—appear to be the chief prerequisites to becoming a property assessor in almost any state, according to a recent survey by the National Association of Assessing Officers.

Additional qualifications, where they exist, usually involve additional residence and property ownership requirements. Assessors of Indiana counties, certain Kansas counties, and some Kentucky cities, for example, must be residents for four years. Assessors of most cities in Pennsylvania and those of San Francisco and St. Louis must have been in residence for five years,

while members of the board of property assessment in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, are required to show ten years' residence. County assessors in Georgia, Indiana, and Kent County, Delaware, must be real property owners, and assessors of most Pennsylvania cities must own at least $500 worth of real estate.

Educational or experience qualifications for assessors are specified in few places. Kentucky county tax commissioners, who are elected, must pass an examination prepared by the State Department of Revenue before filing as candidates. Among the few local governments requiring experience is Syracuse, New York, which specifies that the head of the assessment department must be a licensed engineer or architect, or must have a certain number of years of practical experience in one of these professions, or in appraising or assessing. The Allegheny County board members must show at least five years' experience in certain specified work, including real estate brokerage, appraising or assessing, security transactions, engineering, and law.

A formal merit system for employees is applied in only 360 of the 29,000 primary and overlapping assessment districts and only about a dozen of these include the assessor, or department head, in the classified civil service.

The association's Committee on Assessment Organization and Personnel, making the survey, recommended that requirements of residence and property ownership be abolished, and that standards of experience and training be set up.

The committee recommended that some administrative agency—the state tax department or a state or local personnel agency—be given responsibility for determining the fitness of assessor candidates. Candidates meeting such minimum qualifications for eligibility as a high school education or certain experience might be subjected to written or oral tests set by this agency. The success of such a program would depend, the committee pointed out, "upon its flexibility and a sensible adaptation of testing methods to local conditions."

Denver Sells Tax Delinquent Properties

In the first six months of 1940 the city of Denver, Colorado, sold 2,101 building lots which it had acquired for delinquent taxes. The city received a total of $158,420 in 569 transactions, according to the *Municipal Finance News Letter*. Some buyers took one or two lots, while others acquired an entire block. Frank Wilson, Manager of Revenue of the city and county of Denver, estimates that 90 per cent of the lots were acquired as home sites by persons planning to build immediately.

Proportional Representation

By George H. Hallett, Jr.

Tammany Attacks in New York

P.R. repealer to be decided at the polls

On September 5 a petition bearing 278,059 names was filed in the office of the New York City clerk requesting a vote on election day on the repeal of proportional representation for the New York City council and the substitution of plurality election by state senate districts with four members at large from Queens, three from Brooklyn, and three from the Bronx. The borough of Richmond (Staten Island),

which forms part of a senate district, would elect one.

The result of this proposal would be almost surely the election of thirty-two organization Democrats, at most one Republican, and no others, year in and year out. The Democrats regularly elect all the city's state senators but one (sometimes that one also), and they always win borough-wide plurality elections such as those for judges and county officers except in rare instances where there is a dramatic personal element, not likely to apply to groups of councilmen, as in the election of District Attorney Dewey.

The present city council elected by P.R., on the other hand, contains seven opponents of Tammany out of a total of twenty-one, and its predecessor, elected by P.R. when there was a larger independent turnout in the last mayoralty year, was evenly divided.

Democratic Machines Help

The petition for the repealing charter amendment was filed by the president of the Bronx Chamber of Commerce, but it is no secret that something like 275,000 of its signatures were collected by the Democratic organizations of the five boroughs. These efficient machines had no difficulty in collecting without fanfare five times the required 50,000 names to put their amendment on the ballot, while independent forces had to resort to a campaign of solicitation at tables on the streets with the practically united support of the city's press to file 58,400 signatures for another amendment to reorganize the archaic and wasteful sheriffs' and registers' offices in the five counties of the city.

When it comes to election day there may be another story. Civic leaders are counting heavily on the large independent vote at the presidential election to carry the county reform amendment, if they can keep it on the ballot in the face of the machine's technical attack in the courts, and to defend the principle of minority representation against the threat of a totalitarian regime for the forces of Tammany and Bosses Kelly and Flynn.

The anti-machine fight on both issues is being led by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, of which the chairman is Thomas D. Thacher, former solicitor general of the United States and chairman of the charter revision commission which presented the new charter and P.R. proposals to the people when they were adopted in 1936. Another member of the committee is Samuel Seabury, whose advocacy of P.R. in his final report to the Hofstadter legislative investigating committee in 1932 set the stage for its adoption. The campaign is being conducted through the offices and staff of the New York Citizens Union and most of the other prominent civic groups, such as the League of Women Voters, the Merchants' Association, the City Club, the Women's City Club, the City Affairs Committee, the United Neighborhood Houses, and the Brooklyn Civic Council, are cooperating.

Newspapers Back P.R.

Some of the city's leading newspapers have already taken up the cudgels in defense of P.R.

"It was the proportional representation system," said the *Herald-Tribune* editorially on September 6, "which saved the new city council from the blight under which the old board of aldermen had sunk into ignominy. It was 'P.R.' which for the first time gave each of the several parties in the city an approach to fair representation in the city's legislature. It was 'P.R.' which raised the standards of that body to respectability and gave it some life and meaning. 'P.R.' has not prevented the Democrats from con-

trolling it, as they do now, in accordance with their voting strength; but it has prevented them from making the council, like the board of aldermen, the perpetual possession of whatever hack politicians the Democratic machine chose, in effect, to appoint to its seats. And this, apparently, was too much for the machine. Its referendum proposal would, if adopted, virtually make the council again overwhelmingly Democratic by law, and again disfranchise all other voters."

The *World-Telegram* said on September 7: "Tammany's repeated stubborn attacks have become the highest tribute to P.R. as a system that promotes fairer representation of minorities, diminishes machine power, and threatens to weaken political control over jobs and payrolls.

"And all this before P.R. has got into anything like its full stride and purpose! Tammany feels and fears the trend.

"Voters who appreciate P.R. and the potentialities thereof should stand ready to pay it their tribute—by voting to continue it and develop its possibilities against all Tammany assaults."

The *Jamaica Press,* usually friendly to the Queens Democratic organization, raises another issue which will loom large in the fast-growing boroughs of Queens, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. On July 25 it said editorially: "P.R. has its faults, but it does give Queens automatic reapportionment. Any new system must provide for that to be fair to the citizens of Queens who have long suffered from under-representation both in the state legislature as well as in Congress."

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 679)

of Michigan. In 1939 he was the recipient of the William H. Payne Scholar Award from the university's School of Education. His master's degree comes from the same institution, while his B.S. is from Evansville College. Mr. Park is the author of several articles in the field of social studies.

IN THE days when the Juvenile Court of Berlin (Germany) earned considerable reputation for its probation and other work with youthful delinquents, **Dr. J. O. Reinemann** (*Pennsylvania Experiments with Public Service Training*) held an important position with it. The former municipal councillor of Berlin's city welfare administration is now a naturalized American citizen. His present position is district supervisor of the Probation Department, Juvenile Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. Dr. Reinemann's law degree is from the University of Frankfort-on-Main.

A FELLOW of the Institute of Politics, which is jointly sponsored by the National Municipal League and Indiana University, **Lawrence H. Wendrich** (*Greater Newark: A Quarter Century Vision*) is working now toward a doctorate at Indiana University. In 1939 he received a master's degree from New York University and his thesis on "The Problem of Consolidation of the Governments in Essex County" is the genesis of the article in this magazine.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

National Welfare and Business Stability. By John Bauer. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1940. xi, 182 pp. $2.00.

The preface to this book tempts its readers with the promise, which it keeps, that it is "short, cleaves to the central issue, and can be read in an evening." The issue to which it cleaves is simply stated: Is it possible to so arrange our economic life as to provide for a continuously increasing consumption of goods and services for all until all are surfeited, this goal to be obtained without any regressions and depressions, and without abandonment of either political democracy or economic private enterprise? Dr. Bauer believes it is possible and proves it once more to this reviewer's satisfaction, for he has held similar economic views for many years. The federal government is to be the primary agency employed, not to engage directly in economic activity but first, to keep the necessary pointer-readings on private industry, and second, to see that purchasing power comes into the hands of those who, for any reason, cannot be useful to private industry.

It is for this reason that the book is important to those concerned with local government for it is to local government that those who have no incomes first turn for help. Also, it is in urban centers that the planned federal spending proposed by Dr. Bauer would bring the greatest good.

The reason for the instability of private business as a whole is not because it is inherently wrong, thinks Dr. Bauer, but because, in the nature of the case, it cannot overcome three things: (1) technological changes which must continue to occur will as in the past change the currents of purchasing power; (2) industry cannot impose upon itself the self-control which is necessary to balance demand and supply; (3) private banking cannot at the same time leave that freedom of action to the individual banker which is so often valuable and also assume responsibility for national monetary and credit policies.

Though local administrators may welcome the idea that the federal government will always stand ready with some project which will absorb what otherwise would be a relief burden, the local taxpayer may raise the cry, "Where will the money come from if not from us?" To this, Dr. Bauer's answer is that some will be raised by borrowing, particularly when the number of otherwise unemployed would be heavy, and the rest by taxes; but the reliance here would be on such taxes as the progressive income tax and the inheritance tax and not on such economic monstrosities as the sales tax.

It would be well to read this book every six months during the next few years. Some people think we are about to make the choice between guns or butter. This book tends to show that when we begin making more guns we shall also have more butter. This magical effect will not be because of the intrinsic quality of guns, but simply because when you give a man who previously got nothing seven dollars a day to make guns, he is such a strange creature he will spend that seven dollars for bread and butter. Then another man who also was getting nothing will be hired to help fill the increased demand for butter, and so on.

W. J. M.

Municipal and Governmental Accounting. By Carl H. Chatters and Irving Tenner. New York City, Pren-

tice-Hall Co., 1940. xviii, 794 pp. $6.00.

This volume is designed primarily as a textbook in governmental accounting for college students. The text proper extends over 515 pages, and is followed by some 260 pages of appendices which contain questions and problems for students, accounting terms and definitions, and extended bibliographical references.

The general approach to the subject in the main text is largely from the standpoint of the mechanics of accounting. Forms and sample entries are interspersed throughout the text. The basic ideas which serve as the groundwork for the essential practices of governmental accounting are often casually treated. The student, as a result, may learn to make correct entries in the accounts and summarize the results in accounting statements without knowing, or at least recognizing, the primary reasons for this work. In short, the whole treatment of the book is designed to instruct the student in the technique of account keeping rather than to provoke him to do a little thinking on his own part about the essentials of governmental accounting. For this reason the book, it seems, loses much of its value from the standpoint of the financial officer or the practicing accountant who wants to take a look at the broader aspects of governmental accounting. This is to be regretted when the book promised so much from the standpoint of its authors' equipment and experience.

As the title indicates, the book is mainly about municipal accounting, although some references are made to state accounting problems. A chapter is added at the end—apparently an afterthought—on federal government accounting. This chapter is a very inadequate treatment of the subject, and should have been omitted. The accounting technique and practice of the federal government are so unlike those of municipalities and states that such a chapter really has no place in the text.

The book opens with a chapter on the nature of state and local governments from the accounting standpoint and another on the essentials of governmental accounting. Seven chapters are then devoted to a discussion of funds and their accounting problems, which is by all odds the most satisfactory and comprehensive treatment in the book. Revenue and expenditure classification and accounting are treated in six chapters, one of which is allotted to budgeting and another to cost accounting. Assets and liabilities, as elements of the balance sheet, are discussed in another six chapters. Finally, a single chapter is given to the important matter of reporting, which is perhaps one of the two or three most significant features of modern governmental accounting.

Despite the unmistakable earmarks which show that it was born in a classroom, the book does contain practical and useful materials which will repay the public accountant and the finance officer for the time required for its perusal.

A. E. Buck
Institute of Public Administration

Public Opinion. By William Albig. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939. xiii, 486 pp. $4.00.

Because public opinion determines the fate of governments, of individuals, even of businesses, any work on the subject must perforce attain a uniquely comprehensive importance, a universality. By the same token, it must restate a good many widely appreciated truths. This volume defines the nature of public opinion, discusses the methods by which it is manifested, explores the thought

and emotion habits of individuals which help form public opinion, describes the institutions, agencies, and interests which manipulate and feed public opinion. The book is thoroughly documented, which should be helpful to those interested in particular phases of public opinion.

M. R.

Symposium on the Totalitarian State from the Standpoints of History, Political Science, Economics and Sociology. By Fritz Morstein Marx, etc. Philadelphia, Philosophical Society, 1940. 102 pp. Seventy-five cents.

This attempt to unmask totalitarianism in Germany, Russia, and Italy is one of the most successful we've seen—probably because the approach is cool and reasonable, yet bitter enough in its overtones to leave the reader in no doubt as to where the writers stand.

From historical perspective Carlton J. H. Hayes (Columbia University) cannot grant the totalitarian philosophy even so much as the respectability of age. He makes the too unfamiliar distinction between dictatorship which the Greeks knew twenty-five centuries ago and the philosophy of totalitarianism which is something entirely new. He points out that the centuries-old practice of dividing powers of government between the central and local authorities has only recently broken down, so that all power stems from headquarters.

Mr. Hayes believes that upstart totalitarianism still has to make a place for itself in history.

More familiar but none the less important are the analyses of totalitarianism from the viewpoints of political science by Associate Professor Fritz Morstein Marx, Queens Colleges; education by Professor Thomas Woody, University of Pennsylvania; philosophy of war by Professor Hans Kohn, Smith College; international trade and finance by Associate Professor C. R. Whittlesey, Princeton; economics by Moritz J. Bonn, lecturer, London School of Economics; and a general discussion by Visiting Professor Herbert Heaton, Princeton.

Unfortunately the styles of some of the authors will make too heavy going for popular consumption. And there are few places the general reader can go for a many-side discussion of this new chapter in world history.

E. N. T.

State and Local Government in Texas. by Caleb P. Patterson, Sam B. McAlister, and George C. Hester. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940. 586 pp. $2.50.

The authors have made a definite contribution to the growing library on individual state governments. Studying the states individually has the advantage of eliminating the vagueness and confusion of the usual generalized texts. After reading this book one knows how the government operates in one state instead of having recollections of the myriad possibilities of forms and methods in all.

The form, functions, and institutions of the government of the state of Texas are amply covered; only two chapters, however, are devoted to county and municipal governments. The authors have thoughtfully provided a luxury by including at the end of each chapter those portions of the Texas constitution which are pertinent to that chapter.

It is not clear whether the book is written for high school or college students. A statement of this might decide whether certain features of the book are virtues or vices. The encyclopedic nature of the work would be a boon to the college student but a prolonged trial to the high school student.

Conversely, the detailed explanation of certain simple fundamentals of government would make comprehension easy for the latter but would appear to be wasted space for the former. Judicious editing by the instructor can make this volume an asset to either group of students.

LAWRENCE H. WENDRICH
Institute of Politics
Indiana University

Additional Books and Reports Received

Accounting

Accounting for Governmental Supplies; Accounting for Government-owned Motor Equipment; Governmental Timekeeping and Payroll Procedure. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1940. 67, 66, 68 pp. respectively. 50 cents each.

Assessment

Assessment Supervision; Internal Organization of Local Assessment Offices; Personnel Administration in Local Assessment Offices; Selection, Tenure and Compensation of Assessors. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1940. 50, 47, 53, and 64 pages respectively, mimeo. $1.00 each.

County Government

A Report with Recommendations Covering a Survey of the Finances and Administrative Methods of the Government of Tipton County, Tennessee; A Report with Recommendations Covering a Survey of the Finances and Administrative Methods of the City of Elizabethton, Tennessee. By Tennessee Taxpayers Association. Nashville, 1940. 195 and 164 pp. mimeo.

Defense

Civil Expenditures During and After War Periods. Discussion of the possible effect of preparedness on civil government expenditures. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., 1940. 12 pp.

Emergency Personnel Policies. A check list of items which might be considered by state and local governments. Chicago, The American Municipal Association and the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1940. 10 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

The Amortization of Cost of Defense Facilities. An informational pamphlet on tax phases. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1940. 16 pp.

The British Defense Program and Local Government. Compiled from British documents and periodicals for The American Municipal Association. By Don K. Price and James L. Sundquist. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. v, 55 pp. 75 cents.

Municipal Government

Municipal Government and Administration in Mississippi. By M. H. Satterfield and Hugh W. Urban. Jackson, Mississippi State Planning Commission, 1940. 134 pp.

Municipal Legislation in Maryland. By Howard M. Kline. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, 1940. 65 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Problems 1940. Thirty-first annual meeting of the Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York. Albany, Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, 1940. 126 pp. $1.25.

Requirements for Publication of Municipal Ordinances and Adoption of Codes by Reference. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1940. 26 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

Symposium on Municipal Tort Liabil-

ity. By Edward M. Borchard, etc. (August 1940 issue of *Legal Notes on Local Government*) New York, Section of Municipal Law, American Bar Association, 1940. 36 pp. $1.00.

Yeadon—a Civic Picture. By The Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania. Yeadon, Penna., The Borough Council, 1940. 40 pp.

Personnel

Civil Service Agencies in the United States—A 1940 Census. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1940. 59 pp. 50 cents.

How to Train Supervisors. Manual and outlines for determinate discussion. By R. O. Beckman. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1940. xiii, 305 pp. $3.00.

Research in Employer-Employee Relations in the Public Service. An outline of suggested research topics. New York City, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, 1940. 39 pp. 50 cents.

Your Federal Civil Service. By James C. O'Brien and Philip P. Marenberg. New York City, Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1940. xvi, 501 pp. $2.50.

Real Estate

Real Property Survey and Low Income Housing Area Survey Greater Little Rock, Arkansas. Little Rock, Pulaski County Planning Board, 1940. 134 pp. charts, illus.

Residential Construction in New Jersey 1933-1939. By G. G. Tegnell. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1940. 9 pp. mimeo.

PENNSYLVANIA EXPERIMENTS

(Continued from Page 674)

the end of the course the students expressed the hope that the program would be continued next year.

New courses are scheduled to begin this fall as a large number of applicants could not be accommodated because of the limitation on the number of students for one class. It is planned to organize these courses not only in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but in several other counties as well.

Not only from Pennsylvania, but from other parts of the country numerous inquiries have come from interested municipal and other governmental agencies as to the program, the technical set-up, and the text material of this Correctional Workers' School. The Regional Conference of the National Jail Association, held in Philadelphia in June 1940, endorsed the general idea of such in-service instruction.

The spreading idea of in-service training is based upon a deeper understanding and a new appreciation of the meaning of public service. Public servants in a democracy are not just employees or hired hands of an isolated entity called "The State." The state, according to our philosophy of life, is not an overlord, but the freely organized community of citizens. Therefore, serving the state, being officials of the state and its political subdivisions, means serving the citizens both as individuals and as established society. In the case of correctional workers, it means treating the offender as a human being and applying modern methods of social and medical sciences to the diagnosis and treatment of his case; it means striving for the rehabilitation of the offender and thus concomitantly for the protection of society.